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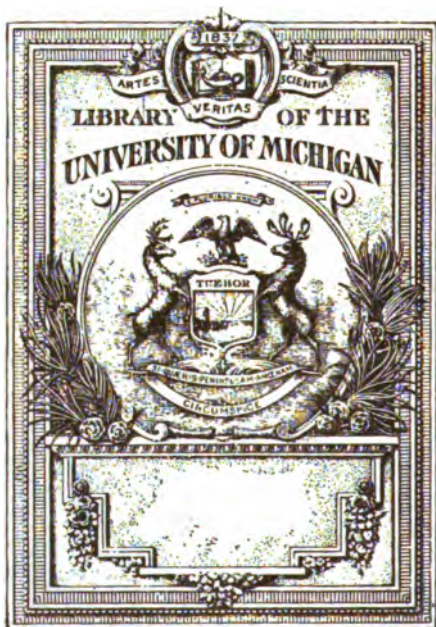
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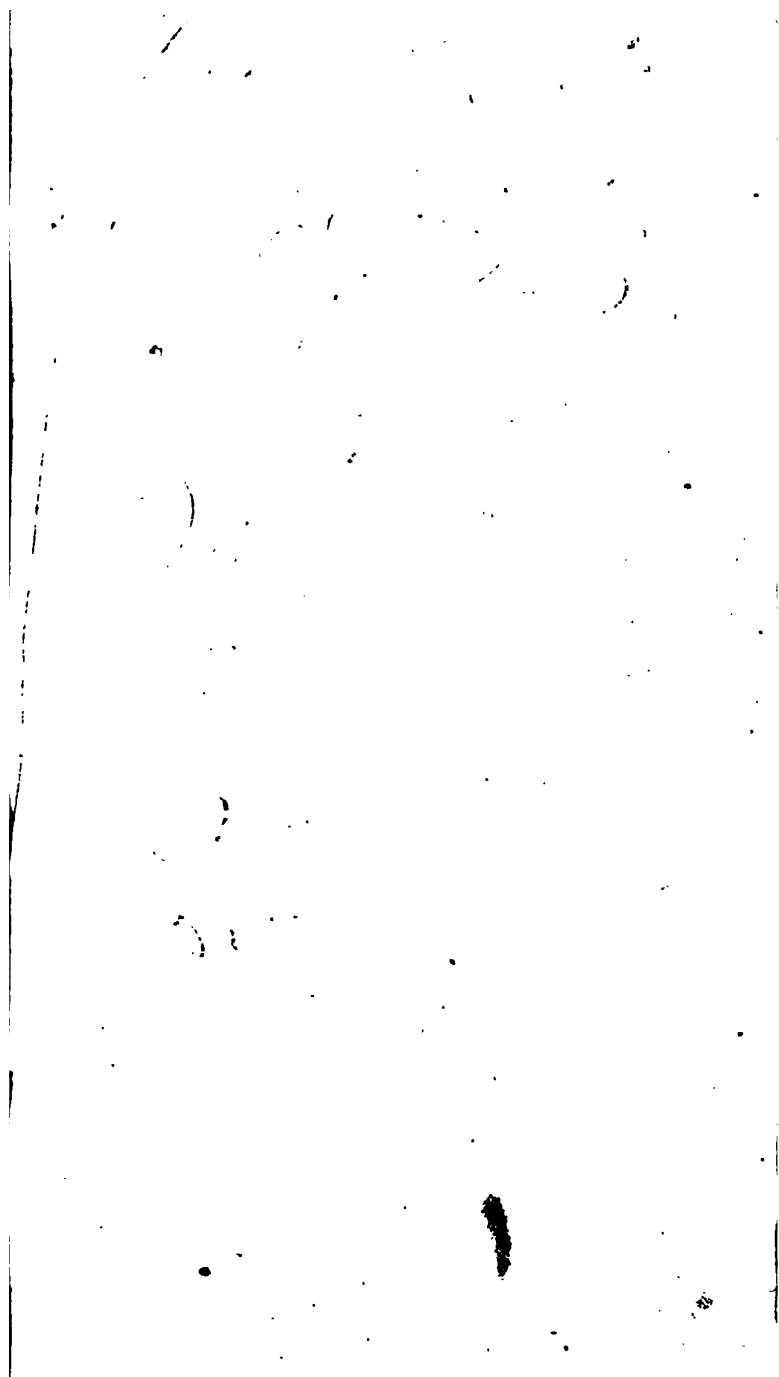
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Elith Brown



**NON
CIRCULATING**





THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Thomas Ellwood.

Or, an Account of his BIRTH,
EDUCATION, &c.

WITH
Divers Observations on his Life and Manners
when a Youth: And how he came to be
Convinced of the *Truth*; with his many
Sufferings and Services for the same.

Also Several Other
Remarkable Passages and Occurrences.

Written by his own hand.

To which is added, A
S U P P L E M E N T
By J. W.

Heb. 11. 2. *By Faith the Elders obtained a good Report.*

The Second Edition.

London: Printed and Sold by the Assigns of J. Sowle
in *White-Hart-Court* in *Gracious-Street*, 1714

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THE PREFACE.

Gather up the Fragments that remain,
that nothing be Lost, John 6. 12.
Was the direction of our Saviour to
his Disciples, after he had fed the Mul-
titude. Which may well and usefully
be applied, to the Collecting and Pre-
serving the Accounts of the *Lives* of
Good Men: Men who in their Day,
have been eminently useful in those
Stations of Life, wherein God, by
his good *Providence*, hath placed them.
And this preserving, by *Publication*, is the
rather to be done, when themselves do
leave behind them, in Writing, an *Ac-
count* of their *Lives*, and of the *signal
Mercies of God to them* therein: For

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from such *Accounts*, may best be gathered, by the *Reader*, the Man's *particular State*; *Exercise* and *Growth* in the *Work of Restoration*, out of the *Fall* and *Degeneracy*: And, in the Reading thereof, be not only excited to *Bless the Name of the Lord*, on his behalf; but also gain some direction from the *Path*, so fairly tract out, and ground of *Hope*; that by being *Faithful*, they may likewise attain to the same good *Experience*.

There is not with me any doubt, but something of this kind may be the Lot of many, into whose Hands this *Treatise* may happen to come; for that they will herein meet with variety of *Exercises*, and the *Providences* of God therein, all related with great strength and plainness of Speech: Our *Deceased Friend Thomas Ellwood*, having been a Man whom God had endued with *singular Abilities*, both as a *Man*, and as a *Christian*; which is evident, not only from this short Account of his *Life*, which was written by himself, and by the *Supplement* added hereunto;

unto ; but more largely from his many useful Labours and Services in the many Books which he writ in the Defence of *Truth*, and the *Friends* thereof: For which *Service* he was in a particular manner qualified, by *Spiritual Wisdom* and *Christian Obedience* ; to which, in him, was added great strength and depth of *Judgment*, wherein he could discern the Spirits of others, and was very much the Master of his own, as did appear to such who knew him, not only by the soundness of his *Reasoning*, and the Seasonableness of his *Words* ; but also by his great and exemplary *Modesty*, in that he was not hasty to *propose*, nor rudely tenacious to insist on what he had proposed ; if any thing, though not well exprest, yet well intended, was offered by any one much Weaker ; nay, though but by a *Babe in Christ*.

His *Countenance* was Manly and Chearful ; His *Deportment* Grave, yet Affable and Courteous, even to the meanest Person ; His *Conversation* Innocent, Pleasant

and Instructive, yet severe against any thing that was beyond the Liberty of *Truth*. These, with his other Qualifications of *Body* and *Mind*, did render him both very Acceptable and very Useful, as a *Friend*, as a *Neighbour*, and as a *Member* and *Elder* in the *Church of Christ*; and the more, for that his Time was chiefly Employed in being Serviceable in one or other of these *Capacities*.

I might here particularly mention the several *Labours* of our *Deceased Friend*, according to their respective Times, and the Nature of their several Subjects; but much of this being already done in the ensuing Pages, I chuse to remit the *Reader* thither; by which possibly he may be excited to the Perusal of them, and shall only say concerning them, *that the Judicious Reader will easily Observe, that his Method and Stile do denote him to have been a Scholar: And yet not farther so, than the Simplicity and Purity of the Truth, whereof he made Profession, would permit him.*

I was

I was with our Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, the greater part of his *Sickness*: In which he was also very frequently visited by our Friend *George Bowles*, who was his Neighbour; to whom therefore I refer, for the Account which he may give of his *Sickness* and *Dying Words*.

As it was my good Lot to be well acquainted with him (though only in the latter Years of his Life) and know that he did neither use nor encourage the bestowing Elaborate *Encomiums* upon Persons Deceased: So neither shall I add further concerning him, than to say with the *Apostle* concerning the Faithful, *That he was* Heb. 11. 4.
Righteous, God Testifying of his
Gifts; and by it being Dead, yet Speaketh.

London the 12th of the }
 2d Month, 1714.

J. W.

George

George Bowles his TESTIMONY Concerning Thomas Ellwood.

Dear Friends,

IT is in my Heart briefly, on this Occasion, to commemorate the tender Dealings of the Lord with his People in this latter Age of the World, when it hath pleased him, in Love to poor lost Man, graciously to appear, by the breaking forth of his Glorious Gospel Day. And by the secret divine Reaches of the Hand of God, which hath been felt and seen in the Light of it, many have been drawn in their Spirits to seek after the Lord, and to enquire after the Knowledge of the Way of Life and Salvation; and blessed be his Holy Name, who was graciously pleased, by the Inshinings of this Divine Light in the Hearts of many, to expel the Darkness and rend the Vail. And then was the Arm of his mighty Power made bare, for the gathering many Thousands to the saving Knowledge of Himself. And in that Day was the Lord pleased according to his Promise, to pour forth of his Spirit upon Sons and upon Daughters; yea, upon Servants and upon Handmaids, and many were made to Prophecie; and being qualified by the Holy Spirit, which they received, and were baptized by it into his Name, became willing, and were freely given up in Obedience to the Lord, and in Bowels of tender Love to the Souls of Mankind, in his Power, to preach the Gospel of Life and Salvation to those to whom they were sent, and ma-

my were turned from Darkneſs to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto God, by their Miniſtry : Amongſt whom our dear deceased Friend and Brother, THOMAS ELLWOOD, was one, whoſe Conſcience was reached and awakened by the Powerful Miniſtry of dear Edward Burrough, as I have heard him relate (and as by the following Sheets will more plainly appear,) And of that Day and Time, and the worthy Inſtrument by whoſe Miniſtry he was Convinced, and turned unto God, and made ſenſible of the Divine Principle of Life and Light in his own Heart; have I heard him ſpeak with great Regard; and alſo of the Sufferings which did attend him after he received the Truth in his Father's Family, for the Truth's ſake : and how the Lord preſerved him in that time, under the various Exerciſes, which he paſſed through for Truth's Teſtimony; which for Chriſt's ſake he was Conſcientiouſly Concerned to ſtand in, according to that Plainneſs and Simplicity which Truth then led, and ſtill continues to lead the ſincere Diſciples of Chriſt into, by which they were diſtinguiſhed from the World; and, for the ſake thereof, they were deſpiſed of Men, and hated of the World. Such was the Plain Language of Thou to one, and reſuſing the Hat-Honour; For which, Dear T. E. ſuffered not a little in that Day, as, by the following Account of his Life more fully appears. And it were well if all, who come up in a Profeſſion of the Bleſſed Truth in this Time, were Faithful in theſe, and in the other Branches of its Teſtimony. And let all conſider, that the neglecting thereof, is, in a Degree,

a making void the Sufferings of the Faithful (and strengthening the Hands of Evil Doers) who for the sake of their Testimony, loved not their Lives to the Death; but underwent cruel Mockings, Buffetings, Stonings, Whippings, Stockings, Revilings, Imprisonments, and Spoiling of Goods; Rejoycing in the Lord, that they were counted worthy to Suffer, either less or more, for his Name sake. In respect of which, this my dear Friend was a good Example, he being a Man of a steady Mind, and very patient in Suffering, as well as Faithful in his Testimony for Truth, and took joyfully the Spoiling of his Goods, wherein he was tryed but a few Years before his Death. He was often Concerned in Defence of Truth's Testimony, both against our Professed Adversaries, and also against the Libertine Spirit which appeared in some, Professing the same Truth with us, who Opposed themselves against that good Order and Discipline which the Truth led Friends into. All which will abundantly appear from the Books themselves, which are in Print, which he writ upon Various Occasions, and upon Divers Subjects; and let not his great Labour and Industry be Forgotten, in his writing those Two Historical Volumes, relating to the Old and New Testament: A Work truly Great, and it, and may be of great Use and Service. By all which his many Labours, it may be perceived by the wary and enlightened Reader, that the Lord had Endowed him with an excellent Gift, and Qualified him for the Service of Truth, his Church and People; in which he employed the Talent

lent which the bountiful Lord had given him, & the Honour of the great Giver, and to the Comfort and Edification of the Church of Christ: But more especially were his Services known to the Brethren in this County of Bucks; Most of which are fallen asleep, and but few remaining here, who knew him in his beginning, or his first Services for the Lord, his Church and People; amongst whom he was a Zealous Asserter of that excellent Discipline the Lord had opened in, and led his People to, for the preserving his Church as a Garden enclosed: for which cause how did many of those Libertines set themselves fiercely against him, and shot their Arrows at him; but the Lord Defended him, and covered his Head in the Day of Battle, and his Bow abode in Strength, and his Bough spread over the Wall, and continued fresh and green: But a Blast from the Lord came upon their Evil Work; And how have they melted away? And how is their Strength failed, and their Work brought to Naught? But the Blessing of the Lord is with his People, even with the Faithful, to this Day, whom he hath preserved as a peculiar Treasure to himself: Blessed be his Holy Name for evermore. And furthermore, it may be truly said of this our dear Friend, that as the Lord fitted him for his Service, so was he eminently serviceable in his Hand, in the Church of Christ; particularly in these Parts, of which there are many Living Witnesses, in this and the adjacent Counties, of his great Labour of Love, having served the Church Freely, with great Diligence and Faithfulness: The true sense of which, toucheth

toucheth me and others, with the deeper sense of the great Loss, the Church hath by his Removal; but being also sensible through the Lord's Goodness, that our Loss is his Eternal Gain, I feel in my Heart an humble Submission to the Will of him, who doth whatsoever pleaseth him, both in Heaven and in Earth; and who shall say unto him, What doest thou? And it is the tender breathing of my Spirit to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would be graciously pleased, in Pity and Compassion to his poor People, to raise up, fit and furnish more faithful Servants for his Work and Service, and make them Zealous for his Name and Truth upon the Earth, that the place of this my Dear Friend, and other Faithful Servants of the Lord and his People, of late removed from amongst us in these Parts, may be supplied; and that the Spouse of Christ may, amidst all her Tribulations, Afflictions and sore Exercises, be made to Praise the Lord, and Bless his Holy Name, who taketh away one, and raiseth up another, and Blesseth his Children with his Goodness; according to his Promise made of Old, by the Holy Prophet, Isa. 44. ver. 3. saying, I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed, and my Blessing upon thine Off-spring. And thus hath the Lord preserved Zion from Age to Age: And I doubt not, but am fully perswaded, that he will still Bless his People, and Preserve Zion, and Deliver her from all her Enemies.

And my Dear Friends, Brethren, and Sisters, although it be matter of Sorrow to us, to part with our Dear Friends; especially such as have been
made

made Serviceable in their Day, and have faithfully served the Lord and his People in their Generation, as it may (I hope without just occasion of Offence to any) be said of dear T. E. that he was a Man who served the Lord in Faithfulness, and his People with Chearfulness, and his Neighbours with Uprightness and Integrity: And therefore both they and we have the greater Loss; Yet may we not sorrow unseasonably, as those which sorrow without Hope, but, believing that the Lord hath taken him to himself in Mercy (though it may be in Judgment, to some who were unworthy) let us all learn Resignation to his blessed Will, and say with Holy Job, The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away: Blessed be the Name of the Lord. And dear Friends, I may farther signifie unto you, that it being my Lot to be with this our dear Friend (of whom I am speaking) almost every day of his last Illness, I did observe in him, to my great Comfort and Satisfaction, a quiet composed Frame of Mind and Spirit, and Resignation to the Will of God: When I came first to him, which was soon after I heard of his being taken ill, which was the 24th day of the 2d Month, I found him very much disabled by the Distemper, which was thought to be a Palsie, that had seized him, especially on his right Side, so that he could not stand alone, nor help himself, but a little with his left Hand; and his Speech was also very much interrupted, insomuch that it was with great difficulty, for the most part, that he expressed himself so as to be Understood: Some time after I came to him, there being also other Friends,

Friends with him, we sat down together under a weighty Exercise of Spirit, waiting upon the Lord in deep Silence, with our Eye to him, it pleased the Lord eminently to appear amongst us, and to fill our Hearts with the refreshing Streams of his Divine Love, and to open the Mouth of one of us in Prayer and Supplication; and the Lord was graciously Pleased abundantly to replenish our Spirits, to our mutual Comfort, in a Living Sense of Divine Goodness; and this our Dear Friend, expressed himself in great Tenderneß and Brokenneß of Spirit, on this wise, I am sensibly Comforted and Refreshed in this Visit. And that Afternoon, he, fixing his Eyes upon me, with great Earnestness of Spirit, expressed, as well as he could at that time, a great Concern that was upon his Mind for Truth, and the Friends of it, in divers Particulars; especially, in Relation to our own Monthly and Quarterly-Meetings, the Writings of both which, had been under his Care for more than Forty Years: After which, he was much eased in his Spirit, and so continued to the last, so far as I perceived; often saying, when asked how he did, I am easie, I am quiet. And he was often very tender in his Spirit, expressing his Resignation to the Will of God, whether in Life or Death, saying, If the Lord hath no more Work for me to do, I am content and resigned to his Will; and my hearty Farewel to all my Brethren. And at another time, nearer his End, he said to us present, in much Brokenneß of Heart, I am full of Joy and Peace, my Spirit is filled with Joy; or to this Effect:
for

for by reason that his Speech was so weakened, sever things could not be so well collected, which he at times spake, in a tender sense of the Lord's Goodness: in a sense of which deeply affected some of us who were with him. And my Heart is sorrowfully affected at this time, in a sense of the great Loss which the Church of Christ (in these Parts especially) hath at his Removal: But in this I am comforted, in the living sense of the Lord's Mercy and Goodness towards him, in carrying him through his Affliction with great Patience and Quietness; under which he was sweetly refreshed, by the Streams of Divine Love, and his Cup was often made to overflow: And we who were present, being touched with a Sense thereof, were comforted therein, being in a Travail of Spirit for him, and did in our Measures truly sympathize with him under his Affliction. And I am fully satisfied, he laid down his Head in Peace with the Lord, and is gathered to his everlasting Rest. He departed this Life the 1st of the 3d Month, 1713. about the 2d Hour in the Morning in the 74th Year of his Age. He received the Truth in the Year 1659, and lived in Fellowship with the Friends of it about 53 Years. And I think it may be truly said of him, That as he Lived so he Died, the Servant of the LORD and His People, and hath left a sweet Savour behind him, and his Memory is blessed with the Righteous for ever, Amen.

GEORGE BOWLES.

The 8th Month, 1713.

A

*A TESTIMONY from the Monthly-
Meeting at Hunger-Hill, the Seventh
Day of the Fourth Month, 1713. Con-
cerning our Dear and Well-beloved
Friend and Brother in the Truth,
Thomas Ellwood, Deceased.*

THAT the Dead which Die in the Lord, are Blessed of him, we have great Assurance of, from John the Divine his writing to the Seven Churches, Rev. 14. ver. 13. Where he tells them, that he Heard a Voice from Heaven, saying, Write, Blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may Rest from their Labours; and their Works do follow them. Of which Number, we have no Cause to doubt, but this our dear Friend is one; who was eminently Serviceable in the Church of Christ. A Man to whom the Lord had given a large Capacity beyond many, and furnished him with an excellent Gift; whereby he was qualified for those Services in the Church, in the performance of which, he did shine as a Star, which received its Luster and Brightness from the Glorious Sun of Righteousness. He was Wise, but Humble; Condescending to the Weak, and ready to Help, where he saw and felt Sincerity; but Sharp to that which he apprehended to be Insincere and Deceitful; for which Cause, he was not acceptable to Hypocrites and Disorderly Walkers: Yet he was a Man of a very acceptable and agreeable Conversation, as well as Sober and Religious; both in the Church and in the World, being of a free
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and affable Temper and Disposition, far from Affection; but of a Courteous Behaviour and Graceful Carriage to all, and very Serviceable to and amongst his Neighbours: He was very Near and Dear to many of us, who were most intimately Acquainted with him, and his Memorial is sweet to us: His Services in our Meetings, and in the Quarterly-Meeting for the County of Bucks, were very Great, and of many Tears Continuance; in which he shewed great Diligence, being of a ready Mind, willing to Serve the Church, according to that Ability which the Lord had given him; and his Heart and House was open to his Friends, and the Monthly-Meeting was kept there more than Forty Years, and remains there to this Day. Our Loss is great by his Removal: But in this we are satisfied, that it is his Everlasting Gain, being gathered, as we have good Cause to Believe, to his Eternal Rest. The knowledge we had of him, and the good Account which we have received of him, in the time of his last Illness, by those who were most constantly with him, and of his quiet and peaceable Departure, doth sensibly Engage our Hearts to acquiesce in the Will of the Lord; and therein we have Peace and Comfort. He departed this Life, the First of the Third Month, 1713. and was Honourably Buried in Friends Burying place at New Jourdens, in the Parish of Giles Chalfont, in the County of Bucks, the Fourth Day of the same Month.

Signed by the Appointment of the Monthly-Meeting, by us,

*George Bowles,
William Grimsdall,
James Smith,
Daniel Wharley,*

*Daniel Roberts,
Abraham Barber,
Thomas Olliffe.*

A TESTIMONY *from* the Womens-Meeting, Con- cerning Thomas Ellwood.

A Concern is upon our Spirits, to write somewhat concerning our dear deceased Friend and Elder, Thomas Ellwood, who was highly Valued by us, for that Wisdom and Counsel were with him; and being of a free and affable Temper, ready to Assist those which stood in need thereof, encouraged many to Apply to him for Advice, under the divers Circumstances, and various Exercises which this Uncertain World affords; which we have found to be for our Good, as we followed it. He was an early Comer to Meetings, seldom hindred by Weather (though he Lived Three Miles distant) when Bodily Weakness did not hinder, of late Years, being oft indisposed as to his Health. The Monthly-Meeting was held at his House about Forty Years, and he always look'd very kind and Courteous on Friends, when they came there, and took Care and Notice of the Meanest, who came in Sincerity. He was Zealous for Good Order, and against such, who, being in an Apostatized Spirit, Opposed it; and may well be numbred amongst the Worthies, whose Names are upon Record for their Valour; so is this our Friend worthy to be; who never turned his Back on such who Opposed the Truth; but stood his Ground, as his Printed Sheets on such occasions do shew. As also his other Works of several kinds, do manifest how great Endowments God had bestowed on him, (Yet we, who knew him in his Conversation, are

Engaged to set forth how Kind and Condescending was to the Weakest Capacity, and would help o. when they wanted a Word) that Generations to con. may learn how good it is to forsake All, and follo Christ Jesus, as this our Friend did, and the Accoun of his Life, following, shews; who not only Giv Wisdom, but Teacheth Humility also.

He was greatly respected by his Neighbours, for h Services amongst them; his Heart and Doors wer open to the Poor, both Sick and Lame, who wante Help, and had it freely, taking Care to provide thing useful for such Occasions, (blest also with good Succes) often saying, He mattered not what Cost it was at, to do Good. Such Lament their Loss; wh when may we do, who miss him in an Higher Station in his great Service in the Church of Christ, ba even desire to be resigned to the Will of the Lord? wh Preserved him through all his Hardships, to a Domi nion over False Brethren, and is now out of the Reach, and of Temptation too; on whose Head, the Blessing, ask'd for Joseph, rests; who as a Fruitful Boug his Branch spreads over the Wall of Opposi tion, and his Bow abode in Strength; the Hands o whose Arms were made Strong, by the help of th Mighty God of Jacob, to whom be the Glory fo what he hath wrought in our Day, whose own Work Praise him for Evermore. And the Tears of Sor row that we shed, for the Loss of this our Deceased Friend, let them be remembred to how our Spirits each of us, into a Godly Care, that we may come up according to our several Capacities, to follow th Lord Faithfully, in a Godly Zeal for his Honour; and so come to lay down our Heads in Joy and Peace, as this our Friend expressed he did.

This Eminent Servant of Christ, was Early Convinc ed of the Way of Truth, wherein he continued to the finishing of his Days; for the sake of which, he soon became

became a Sufferer; not only by Imprisonment, for Worshipping God in the Assemblies of his People, but also, from his Father, by whom he was made as an Outcast, for no other Cause, but for his Faithful Testimony in taking up the Cross to the Worlds Behaviour and Language: Whereupon he was Invited by his much valued Friend Isaac Penington, to his House; where he abode several Tears, until he Married. He was a Blessing in, as well as a great Comfort and Help to that Family; and by his wise Conduct therein, gained much Esteem, not only from the Elders, but the Youth, whom he Instructed in Learning; and though most of them are by Death Removed, yet One still Remains, who from Certain and Experimental Knowledge, can Commemorate his Worth; being engaged thereto, from a Sense of the Benefit of his Good and Wholsom Advice, given at Sundry Times, and on Divers Occasions, Which Friendship continued firm to the Last.

His Natural Capacity was large, and his Understanding, in the things of God, very deep; which excellent Qualifications meeting in one, rendred him useful beyond many, to his Country, as well as very serviceable in the Church; by both which he is, and will be greatly missed. But he is gone to his Grave in a full Age, and gathered as a shock of Corn in its Season, having done his Days Work Faithfully: So that saying may be verified in him, The END Crowns all. His Sickness was sudden, which soon deprived him of the use of his Limbs, yet he retained the Faculties of his Inward and Outward Senses clear all along; and notwithstanding, at times, his Pains were Great; his Exemplary Patience, and Composed Resignation, was remarkably apparent to those that Visited and Attended him; so that their Sorrow in parting with so dear a Friend, was intermixed with Comfort in be-

holding the Heavenly Frame of Mind wherewith he was Adorned.

Thus after all his Labours, he entred into Everlasting Rest, and left many behind Weeping, though not without Hope, that they shall again meet at the General Assembly of Saints, where the redeemed shall sing Praises to their blessed Redeemer, whose Right it is to Reign for ever.

We have this farther to add, namely, That our Esteem of him was great, because of that real worth that was in him, through the Operation of the mighty Power of the Lord that separated him from the Love of the World: So that he chose (with Moses) rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season, and it pleased the Lord to fit him with Wisdom and Counsel, so that he was made able to give Judgment in difficult Cases, wherein many of us have particularly received Benefit, and therefore have cause to lament the loss we have by his Removal. And Oh! say our Souls, That the Lord would raise up many more in his Room, to the Praise and Honour of the good Husbandman. And it is our Desire that we, who are yet behind, may be made able so to Steer our Course, through this troublesome World, that when our End comes, we may lay down our Heads in Peace with the Lord, and leave a good Savour behind us, as this our Friend hath done.

This is written in true Love and Respect, to the Memory of our Deceased Friend, as it pleased the Lord, to move up to our Hearts. And being read and approved in our Womens-Meeting at Hungerhill, the 4th of the 11th Month, 1713. was subscribed in behalf of the said Meeting by us,

MARY BAKER.
MARY WHARLEY.
MARY LARCUM.

Con-

Concerning our Dear Friend Thomas Ellwood, of
Hunger-Hill.

HE was much esteemed amongst good Men: Good Men, in their Day and Station upon the Earth, represent him, who made all things good in the beginning, who said, Gen. 1. 3. Let there be Light, and there was Light. And also said, ver. 26. Let us make Man in our Image, after our Likeness. Oh, high Favour! So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him; Male and Female created he them, v. 27. and blessed them, and gave them Dominion under himself; for he was chief Commander then; and so he is witnessed to be now, where his Heavenly Image is come into again, and Men Live in it, as did this our dear Friend, who did good in his Day and Generation: Counsel was with him, to give to such as needed, and did apply to him: He was of a Tender Spirit, and had Dominion over Passion, over Pride, and over Covetousness: So he was Comfortable to, and in his Family. He was Amiable in the Church of Christ, and a Doer of Good amongst his Neighbours. And being an Elder amongst, and with the Elders; he hath not only obtained a good Report, but also the Blessing in the promised Seed, which bruises the Serpent's Head. He was Valiant in suffering for his Testimony which he held in the Truth; and may not I say, unwearied in his Labours, for the bearing forth the Fame and Excellency of it: Whereby we see what the Truth makes Men to be, who do come under the Conduct and Power of it; even as fixed Stars in the firmament of his Divine Power; who has caused the Morning of his Heavenly and Glorious Gospel-Day to break forth; and as with the Day that springs from on High, in tender Mercy, hath he visited ma-

ny Souls. *And early did this our Worthy decease Friend Embrace it, as it appears by his Testimony concerning that Eminent, and Blessed Messenger, and Minister of the Gospel, G. F.*

And now, he having endured the Times of Proving and the Days of Tribulation and Suffering; together with the Perils and Sights, and Undervaluings of Fall Brethren; against whose Ungodly Work, he was engaged to stand, as a noble Warrior, in the defence of and for the glorious Gospel of Christ: Not admiring Mens Persons, but the Work of the Gospel-Power. Although he was endowed with Parts and Accomplishment above many, he was Humble and Grave; not Self-seeking, but esteeming the Power of Truth, tho' it did appear through mean Instruments. He was Honourable; and Honoured, for that he sought not his own Honour but the Honour of Truth; not only by his Sufferings for it, and Labours in it; but also, in standing firmly against the loose Libertine Ones; who would have thrust in amongst the Lambs and Flock of Christ, in an unclean, adulterating Spirit; from the Life of the true Shepherd, and heavenly Husband, Christ Jesus. But to the tender Hearted, and sincere Minded, he was Strengthening and Comfortable. I knew him when he was but Young; and I can truly say, my Heart has often been affected, on his behalf, with Thankfulness to the Lord, who made him as a strong Pillar, in his spiritual House, with many more of his dear Servants and Children; who shall no more go out. His Memory is in my Heart esteemed, beyond what I can Write. Oh surely! The Righteous shall be had in Everlasting Remembrance, Psal. 112. 6. And they that be Wise, shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament: And they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for Ever and Ever, Dan. 12. 3.

Richard Vivers *his* Testimony Concerning Thomas Ellwood.

HE was a Man of great Wisdom and Understanding; and the Lord, the Giver of it, being pleased to visit him in his early Days, made choice of him, and by the Sanctification of his Holy Spirit, fitted, and prepared him for his Work and Service, whereunto he was called. And although he did not often appear as a Minister; Yet, in those Meetings set a-part for the Affairs of Truth; he often appeared in great Wisdom, having an extraordinary Talent given of the Lord for that Work, more than many other Brethren: And faithful he was in waiting for Instruction from God, to improve the same to his Glory, and the Churches Advantage; for nothing was more desirable to him, than to be employed in the Lord's Service: So it pleased the Almighty to furnish him with Understanding and Strength, faithfully to do his Days work. And now he hath taken him to himself, where his Soul is at Rest; and although our Loss be his Gain, therein I with many more are greatly comforted; for I can truly say, I loved him, in the Truth, from the First of my acquaintance with him, and so it remained to the End of his Course, being near Forty Years, since we knew each other: And when ever we conversed together, our Discourse was chiefly, concerning Heavenly Things, and the Affairs of the Church, and I always thought my Time well spent with him; although opportunity would not serve for so much of it as I desired, had it been the Will of God.

And

And this I can say, according to my Observation, was a Man True to his Friend, and deliberate the Choice of his Acquaintance, to whom he shew'd real Love, and sincerity of Heart. And he was of a steady and sound Judgment, as to the things God; often desiring, that those who came amongst especially Children of Believing Parents, might not settle down only in a Form of Godliness, without the Power (at which Door, the Apostacy entred) but that they might be raised up to walk in that, where the Saints Fellowship doth stand, which is the Light of our Lord Jesus Christ, enlightening every Man that cometh into the World: And then the Ancient Testimony of Truth will be more and more raised up in their Hearts, and they being Preserved of the Lord in it, it will more be maintained in its several Branches as in former Days. Blessed be the Name of the Lord who hath a People in these latter Ages of the World to whom he hath given Power to stand for his Truth whilst on Earth, and to be Tender of the Honour of his Name; of the Number of whom, this our Deceased Friend and Brother was; who, although Dead, yet his Memory Liveth, and will be preserved amongst the Righteous, in Generations yet to come.

Banbury the 30th of the }
11th Month, 1714.

RICHARD VIVERS,

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Thomas Ellwood.

ALTHOUGH my Station, not being so Eminent either in the Church of Christ, or in the World, as others who have moved in higher Orbs, may not afford such considerable Remarks as theirs; yet, inasmuch as in the Course of my Travels through this Vale of Tears, I have passed through various, and some uncommon Exercises, which the Lord hath been graciously pleased to support me under, and conduct me through: I hold it a matter excusable, at least, if not commendable, to give the World some little Account of my Life, that in Recounting the many Deliverances and Preservations, which the Lord hath vouchsafed to work for
C me,

me, both I, by a grateful Acknowledgment thereof, and Return of Thanksgivings unto him therefore, may, in some measure set forth his abundant Goodness to me; and others, whose Lot it may be to tread the same Path, and fall into the same, or like Exercises, may be encouraged to persevere in the way of Holiness, and, with full assurance of Mind to trust in the Lord, whatsoever Trials may befall them.

To begin therefore with mine own Beginning. I was Born in the Year of our Lord, 1639. 1639, about the Beginning of the *Eighth Month* (so far as I have been able to inform my self:) for the Parish Register, which relates to the time (not of Birth, but) of *Baptism*, (as they call it) is not to be relied on.

The Place of my Birth was a little Country Town, called *Crowell*, situate in the upper side of *Oxfordshire*, Three Miles East-ward from *Thame* the nearest Market-Town.

My Father's Name was *Walter Ellwood*; and my Mothers Maiden-Name was *Elizabeth Portman*: both well descended; but of declining Families. So that what my Father Possessed (which was a pretty Estate in Lands, and more, as I have heard in Monies) he received (as he had done his Name *Walter*) from his Grandfather *Walter Gray*; whose Daughter, and only Child, was his Mother.

1641. In my very Infancy, when I was but about two Years Old, I was carried to *London*. For the *Civil War*, between *King* and *Parliament*, breaking then forth; my Father (who favoured

ed the Parliament-Side, though he took not Arms) not holding himself safe at his Country Habitation (which lay too near some Garisons of the King's) betook himself to *London*, that City then holding for the Parliament.

There was I bred up (though not without much Difficulty, the City-Air not agreeing with my tender Constitution) and there continued, until *Oxford* was surrendred, and the War, in Appearance, ended.

In this time, my Parents contracted an Acquaintance, and intimate Friendship with the Lady *Springett*; who being then the Widow of Sir *William Springett* (who died in the Parliament Service) was afterwards the Wife of *Isaac Penington*, Eldest Son of Alderman *Penington* of *London*. And this Friendship devolving from the Parents to the Children, I became an early and Particular Play-fellow to her Daughter *Gulielma*; being admitted, as such, to ride with her in her little Coach, drawn by her Footman about *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*.

I mention this in this Place, because the Continuation of that Acquaintance and Friendship having been an Occasional Means of my being afterwards brought to the Knowledge of the Blessed TRUTH, I shall have frequent Cause, in the Course of the following Discourse, to make honourable Mention of that Family, to which I am under so many and great Obligations.

Soon after the Surrender of *Oxford*, my Father 1646. ther returned to his Estate at *Crowell*; which

by that time he might have need enough to look after, having spent (I suppose) the greatest Part of the Monies which had been left him by his Grandfather, in maintaining himself and his Family at an high Rate in *London*.

My elder Brother (for I had one Brother and two Sisters, all elder than my self) was, while we lived in *London*, Boarded at a private School, in the House of one *Francis Atkinson*, at a Place called *Hadley*, near *Barnet* in *Hertfordshire*; where he had made some good Proficiency in the *Latin* and *French* Tongues. But after we had left the City, and were resettled in the Country; he was taken from that private School, and sent to the Free School at *Thame* in *Oxfordshire*.

Thither also was I sent, as soon as my tender Age would permit: for I was indeed but young when I went, and yet seemed younger than I was, by reason of my low and little Stature. For it was held, for some Years, a doubtful Point, whether I should not have proved a Dwarf. But after I was arrived to the Fifteenth Year of my Age (or thereabouts) I began to shoot up, and gave not over growing, till I had attained the middle Size and Stature of Men.

At this School (which at that time was in good Reputation) I profited apace; having then a natural Propensity to Learning: so that at the first reading over of my Lesson, I commonly made my self Master of it: And yet (which is strange to think of) few Boys in the School

School wore out more Birch than I. For tho' I was never (that I remember) whipt upon the Score of not having my Lesson ready, or of not saying it well: yet being a little busie Boy, full of Spirit, of a working Head, and active Hand, I could not easily conform myself to the grave and sober Rules, and (as I then thought) severe Orders of the School; but was often playing one waggish Prank or other among my Fellow-Scholars, which subjected me to Correction, so that I have come under the Discipline of the Rod twice in a Forenoon. Which yet brake no Bones.

Had I been continued at this School, and in due time preferred to an higher; I might in likelihood have been a Scholar: for I was observed to have a Genius apt to learn. But my Father having, so soon as the *Republican-Government* began to settle, accepted the Office of a Justice of the Peace (which was no way Beneficial, but meerly Honorary, and every way Expensive) and put himself into a Port, and Course of Living agreeable thereunto; and having also removed my Brother from *Thames-School* to *Merton-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and entred him there in the highest and most chargeable Condition, of a *Fellow-Commoner*: he found it needful to retrench his Expences elsewhere; the Hurt of which fell upon me. For he thereupon took me from School, to save the Charge of Maintaining me there: which was somewhat like plucking green Fruit from the Tree, and laying it by, before it was come to its due Ripeness.

ness; which will thenceforth shrink and wither, and lose that little Juice and Relish which it began to have.

Even so it fared with me. For being taken home when I was but young, and before I was well settled in my Studies, (though I had made a good Progress in the *Latin* Tongue, and was entred in the *Greek*) being left too much to my self, to ply, or play with my Books, or without them, as I pleased: I soon shook Hands with my Books by shaking my Books out of my Hands, and laying them, by degrees, quite aside; and addicted my self to such youthful Sports and Pleasures as the Place afforded, and my Condition could reach unto.

By this Means, in a little time, I began to lose that little Learning I had acquired at School; and by a continued disuse of my Books, became at length so utterly a Stranger to Learning, that I could not have read, far less have understood a Sentence in *Latin*. Which I was so sensible of, that I warily avoided reading to others, even in an *English* Book, lest, if I should meet with a *Latin* Word, I should shame my self, by mispronouncing it.

Thus I went on, taking my Swing in such vain Courses, as were accounted harmless Recreations; entertaining my Companions, and familiar Acquaintance, with pleasant Discourses in our Conversations, by the meer Force of Mother-Wit and Natural Parts, without the Help of School-Cultivation: and was accounted good Company too.

But

But I always sort'd my self with Persons of Ingenuity, Temperance and Sobriety: for I loathed Scurrilities in Conversation, and had a natural Aversion to Immoderate Drinking. So that in the Time of my greatest Vanity, I was preserv'd from Prophaneſs, and the groſſer Evils of the World: which render'd me acceptable to Persons of the best Note in that Country then. I often wait'd on the Lord *Wenman*, at his House *Thame-Park* (about two Miles from *Cromell*, where I liv'd;) to whose Favour I held my self intituled in a two-fold Respect: both as my Mother was nearly related to his Lady; and as he had been pleas'd to bestow his Name upon me, when he made large Promises for me at the Font. He was a Person of great Honour and Virtue, and always gav'd me a kind Reception at his Table, how often soever I came. And I have cause to think, I should have received from this Lord some advantageous Preferment in this World, as soon as he had found me capable of it (though betwixt him and my Father there was not then so good an Understanding as might have been wish'd) had I not been, in a little time after, call'd into the Service of the best and highest Lord: and thereby lost the Favour of all my Friends, Relations and Acquaintance of this World. To the Account of which most happy Exchange I hasten, and therefore willingly pass over many Particularities of my youthful Life. Yet one Passage I am willing to mention, for the Effect it had upon me afterwards: which was thus:

1657. My Father being then in the Commission of the Peace, and going to a *Petty-Sessions* at *Watlington*, I waited on him thither. And when we came near the Town, the Coachman seeing a nearer and easier Way, than the common Road, through a Corn Field, and that it was wide enough for the Wheels to run, without endammaging the Corn, turned down there. Which being observed by an Husband-man, who was at Plow not far off, he ran to us; and stopping the Coach, poured forth a Mouthful of Complaints, in none of the best Language, for driving over the Corn. My Father mildly answered him, That if there was an Offence committed, he must rather impute it to his Servant, than himself; since he neither directed him to drive that Way, nor knew which way he drove. Yet added, that he was going to such an Inn at the Town; whither if he came, he would make him full Satisfaction, for whatsoever Dammage he had sustained thereby. And so on we went, the Man venting his Discontent, as he went back, in angry Accents. At the Town, upon enquiry, we understood that it was a way often used, and without Dammage, being broad enough; but that it was not the common Road, which yet lay not far from it, and was also good enough: Wherefore my Father bid his Man drive Home that way.

It was late in the Evening when we returned, and very dark; and this quarrellsome Man, who had troubled himself and us in the Morning,

ing, having gotten another lusty Fellow, like 1657. himself, to assist him, way-lay'd us in the Night, expecting we would return the same way we came. But when they found we did not, but took the common Way, they, angry that they were disappointed, and loth to lose their Purpose, (which was to put an Abuse upon us) coasted over to us in the dark, and laying hold on the Horses Bridles, stop't them from going on. My Father asking his Man, what the Reason was that he went not on, was answered, *That there were two Men at the Horses Heads, who held them back, and would not suffer them to go forward.* Whereupon my Father, opening the Boot, step't out, and I followed close at his Heels. Going up to the place where the Men stood, he demanded of them the Reason of this Assault. They said, *We were upon the Corn.* We knew, by the Routs, we were not on the Corn, but in the common way, and told them so. But they told us, *They were resolved they would not let us go on any farther, but would make us go back again.* My Father endeavoured, by gentle Reasoning, to perswade them to forbear, and not run themselves farther into the Danger of the Law, which they were run too far into already: but they rather derided him for it. Seeing therefore fair Means would not work upon them, he spake more roughly to them, charging them to deliver their Clubs (for each of them had a great Club in his Hand, somewhat like those which are called *Quarter Staves.*) They thereupon, laughing, told him, *They*

1657. *They did not bring them thither for that End.*
 Thereupon my Father, turning his Head to me, said, *Tom, Disarm them.*

I stood ready at his Elbow, waiting only for the Word of Command. For being naturally of a bold Spirit, full then of youthful Heat, and that too heightned by the Sence I had, not only of the Abuse, but insolent Behaviour of those rude Fellows; my Blood began to boyl, and my Fingers itch'd (as the Saying is) to be dealing with them. Wherefore, stepping boldly forward, to lay hold on the Staff of him that was nearest to me, I said, *Sirrah, Deliver your Weapon.* He thereupon raised his Club (which was big enough to have knock't down an Ox) intending (no doubt) to have knock't me down with it; as probably he would have done, had I not, in the twinkling of an Eye, whip't out my Rapier, and made a Pass upon him. I could not have failed running of him through up to the Hilt, had he stood his Ground: but the suddain and unexpected Sight of my bright Blade, glistering in the dark Night, did so amaze, and terrifie the Man, that slipping aside, he avoided my Thrust; and letting his Staff sink, betook himself to his Heels for Safety; which his Companion seeing, fled also. I followed the former as fast as I could; but *Timor addidit Alas*, Fear gave him Wings, and made him swiftly fly: so that although I was accounted very nimble, yet the farther we ran, the more ground he gain'd on me; so that I could not overtake him: which made me think he took

took shelter under some Bush; which he knew ^{1657.} where to find, though I did not. Mean while the Coachman (who had sufficiently the outside of a Man) excus'd himself from intermedling, under pretence that he durst not leave his Horses: and so left me to shift for my self. And I was gone so far beyond my Knowledge, that I understood not which way I was to go: till by Hollowing, and being Hollowed to again, I was directed where to find my Company.

We had easie Means to have found out who these Men were (the principal of them having been in the Day time at the Inn, and both quarrell'd with the Coachman, and threatned to be even with him when he went back :) but since they came off no better in their Attempt, my Father thought it better not to know them, than to oblige himself to a Prosecution of them.

At that time, and for a good while after, I had no regret upon my Mind, for what I had done, and designed to have done, in this Case; but went on, in a sort of Bravery, resolving to kill, if I could, any Man, that should make the like Attempt, or put any Affront upon us: and for that reason, seldom went afterwards, upon those publick Services, without a loaded Pistol in my Pocket. But when it pleased the Lord, in his infinite Goodness, to call me out of the Spirit and Ways of the World, and give me the Knowledge of his saving Truth, whereby the Actions of my fore-past Life were set in Order before me: a sort of Horror seized on me, when I considered how near I had been to the stain-

1657. staining of my Hands with Human Blood. And whensoever afterwards I went that way, and indeed as often since as the Matter has come into my remembrance, my Soul has blessed the Lord for my Deliverance; and Thanksgivings and Praises have arisen in my Heart (as now, at the relating of it, they do) to Him, who preserved, and with-held me from shedding Man's Blood. Which is the Reason, for which I have given this Account of that Action, that others may be warned by it.

1658. About this time my dear and Honoured Mother (who was indeed a Woman of singular Worth and Virtue) departed this Life; having a little before heard of the Death of her eldest Son: who (falling under the Displeasure of my Father, for refusing to resign his Interest in an Estate, which my Father sold, and thereupon desiring that he might have Leave to Travel; in hopes that Time and Absence might work a Reconciliation) went into *Ireland*, with a Person powerful there in those Times, by whose Means he was quickly preferred to a Place of Trust and Profit, but lived not long to Enjoy it.

I mentioned before, that during my Father's Abode in *London*, in the time of the *Civil Wars*, he contracted a Friendship with the Lady *Springett*, then a Widow, and afterwards Married to *Isaac Penington*, Esq; To continue which he sometimes Visited them at their Country-Lodgings (as at *Datchet*, and at *Caulsbam Lodge* near *Reading*.) And having heard that they were come to live upon their own Estate at *Chalfont* in

in *Buckinghamshire* (about Fifteen Miles from 1659. *Crowell*) he went one Day to Visit them there, and to return at Night; taking me with him.

But very much surprized we were, when, being come thither, we first heard, then found, they were become *Quakers*; a People we had no Knowledge of, and a Name we had, till then, scarce heard of.

So great a Change, from a free, debonair and courtly sort of Behaviour (which we formerly had found them in) to so strict a Gravity as they now received us with, did not a little amuse us, and disappoint our Expectation of such a pleasant Visit, as we used to have, and had now promised our selves. Nor could my Father have any Opportunity, by a private Conference with them, to understand the Ground or Occasion of this Change; there being some other Strangers with them (related to *Isaac Penington*) who came that Morning from *London* to Visit them also.

For my Part, I sought, and at length found Means to cast my self into the Company of the Daughter, whom I found gathering some Flowers in the Garden, attended by her Maid, who was also a *Quaker*. But when I addressed my self to her after my accustomed Manner, with Intention to engage her in some Discourse, which might introduce Conversation, on the Foot of our former Acquaintance: though she treated me with a Courteous Mein; yet, (as young as she was) the Gravity of her Look and Behaviour struck such an Awe upon me, that
I found

1659. I found my self not so much Master of my self, as to pursue any further Converse with her, Wherefore asking Pardon for my Boldness, in having intruded my self into her private Walks, I withdrew, not without some Disorder (as I thought at least) of Mind.

We stay'd Dinner, which was very handsome; and lacked nothing to recommend it to me, but the want of Mirth and pleasant Discourse: which we could neither have with them, nor, by reason of them, with one another amongst our selves; the Weightiness that was upon their Spirits and Countenances, keeping down the Lightness that would have been up in us. We stay'd notwithstanding till the rest of the Company took leave of them: and then we also, doing the same, returned, not greatly satisfied with our Journey, nor knowing what in particular to find fault with.

Yet this good Effect that Visit had upon my Father, who was then in the Commission for the Peace, that it disposed him to a more favourable Opinion of, and Carriage towards those People, when they came in his way; as not long after one of them did. For a young Man, who lived in *Buckinghamshire*, came on a *First Day* to to the Church (so called) at a Town called *Chinner* (a Mile from *Crowell*) having, it seems, a Pressure on his Mind to say something to the Minister of that Parish. He being an Acquaintance of mine, drew me sometimes to hear him, as it did then. The young Man stood in the Isle before the Pulpit, all the Time of the Ser-

Sermon; not speaking a Word till the Sermon 1659. and Prayer after it was ended: and then spake a few Words to the Priest. Of which all that I could hear was, That *The Prayer of the Wicked is Abomination to the Lord; and that God beareth not Sinners.*

Somewhat more, I think, he did say (which I could not distinctly hear, for the Noise the People made) and more probably he would have said, had he not been Interrupted by the Officers, who took him into Custody, and led him out, in order to carry him before my Father.

When I understood that, I hastened home, that I might give my Father a fair Account of the Matter, before they came. I told him the young Man behaved himself quietly and peaceably; spake not a Word, till the Minister had quite done his Service: and that what he then spake was but short; and was delivered without Passion, or ill Language. This I knew would furnish my Father with a fair Ground, whereon to discharge the Man, if he would.

And accordingly, when they came, and made an high Complaint against the Man (who said little for himself;) my Father, having Examined the Officers, who brought him, what the Words that he spake were, (which they did not well agree in) and at what time he spake them, (which they all agreed to be after the Minister had done) and then whether he gave the Minister any reviling Language, or endeavoured to raise a Tumult among the People (which

1659. (which they could not charge him with :) not finding that he had broken the Law, he Counsell'd the young Man to be careful that he did not make, or occasion any publick Disturbances ; and so dismiss'd him. Which I was glad of.

Some time after this, my Father, having gotten some further Account of the People called *Quakers*; and being desirous to be informed concerning their Principles, made another Visit to *Isaac Penington* and his Wife, at their House called the *Grange* in *Peter's-Chalfont*; and took both my Sisters and me with him.

It was in the *Tenth Month*, in the Year, 1659, that we went thither ; where we found a very kind Reception, and tarried some Days: one Day, at least, the longer, for that, while we were there, a Meeting was appointed, at a Place about a Mile from thence ; to which we were invited to go, and willingly went.

It was held in a Farm-House, called *The Grove*; which, having formerly been a Gentleman's Seat, had a very large Hall, and that well filled.

To this Meeting came *Edward Burrough*, besides other Preachers, as *Thomas Curtis* and *James Nailor*: but none spake there, at that Time, but *Edward Burrough*: Next to whom (as it were under him) it was my Lot to sit (on a Stool by the Side of a long Table, on which he sat;) and I drank in his Words with Desire: for they not only Answered my Understanding, but warmed my Heart with a certain

tain Heat, which I had not till then felt from 1659.
the Ministry of any Man. W

When the Meeting was ended, our Friends took us home with them again; and after Supper, the Evenings being long, the Servants of the Family (who were *Quakers*) were called in, and we all sat down in Silence. But long we had not so sat, before *Edward Burrough* began to speak among us. And although he spake not long, yet what he said did touch, as I suppose, my Father's (Religious) Copy-hold; as the Phrase is. And he, having been from his Youth a Professor (though not join'd in that which is call'd *Close Communion* with any one Sort;) and valuing himself upon the Knowledge he esteemed himself to have, in the various Notions of each Profession: thought he had now a fair Opportunity to display his Knowledge; and thereupon began to make Objections against what had been delivered.

The Subject of the Discourse was, *The universal free Grace of God to all Mankind*. To which he opposed the *Calvinistical Tenet* of *Particular* and *Personal Predestination*. In defence of which indefensible Notion, he found himself more at a Loss than he expected. *Edward Burrough* said not much to him upon it, though what he said was close and cogent. But *James Nailor* interposing, handled the Subject with so much Perspicuity, and clear Demonstration, that his Reasoning seemed to be irresistible; and so I suppose my Father found it, which made him willing to drop the Discourse.

1659. As for *Edward Burrough*, he was a Brisk young Man, of a ready Tongue, (and might have been, for ought I then knew, a Scholar) which made me the less to admire his way of Reasoning. But what drop't from *James Naslor* had the greater Force upon me; because he look'd but like a plain simple Country-Man, having the Appearance of an Husbandman, or a Shepherd.

As my Father was not able to maintain the Argument on his Side: so neither did they seem willing to drive it on to an Extremity on their side. But treating him in a soft and gentle Manner, did, after a while, let fall the Discourse: and then we withdrew to our respective Chambers.

The next Morning we prepared to return Home (that is, my Father, my younger Sister, and my self: for my elder Sister was gone before, by the Stage Coach, to *London*.) And when, having taken our Leaves of our Friends, we went forth; they, with *Edward Burrough*, accompanying us to the Gate: he there directed his Speech, in a few Words to each of us severally; according to the Sense he had of our several Conditions. And when we were gone off, and they gone in again; they asking him what he thought of us: he answered them, (as they afterwards told me) to this Effect, *As for the Old Man, he is settled on his Lees; and the Young Woman is light and airy: but the Young Man is Reach't, and may do well, if he don't lose it.* And surely that which he said to me, or rather

rather that Spirit in which he spake it, took 1659.
such fast hold on me; that I felt Sadness and
Trouble come over me, though I did not distinctly understand what I was troubled for. I knew not what I ayled, but I knew I ayled something more than ordinary: and my Heart was very heavy.

I found it was not so with my Father and Sister: for as I rode after the Coach, I could hear them talk pleasantly one to the other, but they could not discern how it was with me, because I, riding on Horsback, kept much out of Sight.

By that time we got home it was Night. And the next Day, being the first Day of the Week, I went in the Afternoon to hear the Minister of *Chinner*; and this was the last time I ever went to hear any of that Function. After the Sermon, I went with him to his House, and in a Freedom of Discourse (which, from a certain Intimacy that was between us, I commonly used with him) told him where I had been, what Company I had met with there, and what Observations I had made to my self thereupon. He seemed to understand as little of them, as I had done before: and civilly abstained from casting any unhandsome Reflections on them.


I had a Desire to go to another Meeting of the *Quakers*; and bid my Father's Man enquire, if there was any in the Country thereabouts. He thereupon told me, he had heard at *Isaac*

1659. Penington's, that there was to be a Meeting at
 W High-Wiccomb on Thursday next.

Thither therefore I went, though it was Seven Miles from me. And that I might be rather thought to go out a Courting, than to a Meeting; I let my Gray-Hound run by my Horse-side.

When I came there, and had set up my Horse at an Inn; I was at a Loss how to find the House where the Meeting was to be. I knew it not: and was ashamed to ask after it. Wherefore having order'd the Horstler to take Care of my Dog, I went into the Street, and stood at the Inn-Gate; musing with my self what Course to take. But I had not stood long, e're I saw an Horse-man riding along the Street; whom I remember'd I had seen before at *Isaac Penington's*: and he put up his Horse at the same Inn. Him therefore I resolved to follow, supposing he was going to the Meeting, as indeed he was.

Being come to the House (which proved to be *John Raunce's*) I saw the People sitting together, in an outer Room: wherefore I stept in, and sate down on the first void Seat, the End of a Bench just within the Door; having my Sword by my Side, and Black Cloaths on, which drew some Eyes upon me. It was not long e're one stood up and spake, whom I was afterwards well acquainted with (his Name was *Samuel Thornton*;) and what he spake was very fuitable, and of good Service to me: for
 it

it reached Home, as if it had been directed ^{1659.}
to me. 

As soon as ever the Meeting was ended, and the People began to rise, I, being next the Door, step't out quickly; and hastning to my Inn, took Horse immediately homewards: and (so far as I remember) my having been gone was not taken Notice of by my Father.

This latter Meeting was like the Clinching of a Nail; confirming, and fastening in my Mind, those good Principles, which had sunk into me at the former. My Understanding began to open, and I felt some Stirrings in my Breast, tending to the Work of a New Creation in me. The general Trouble, and Confusion of Mind, which had for some Days lain heavy upon me, and pressed me down, without a distinct Discovery of the particular Cause for which it came, began now to wear off; and some Glimmerings of Light began to break forth in me; which let me see my Inward State, and Condition towards God. The Light (which before had shone in my Darknes, and the Darknes could not comprehend it) began now to shine out of Darknes, and in some Measure discovered to me what it was, that had before clouded me, and brought that Sadness and Trouble upon me. And now I saw, that although I had been, in a great degree, preserved from the common Immoralities, and gross Pollutions of the World; yet the Spirit of the World had hitherto ruled in me, and led me into Pride, Flattery, Vanity and Superfluity;

1659. fluity; all which was Naught. I found there
 were many Plants growing in me, which were
 not of the *Heavenly Father's Planting*: and that
 all these (of whatever sort or kind they were,
 or how specious soever they might appear)
 must be plucked up.

Now was all my former Life ripped up, and
 my Sins, by Degrees, were set in order before
 me. And though they looked not with so black
 a Hue, and so deep a Dye, as those of the
 lewdest Sort of People did: Yet I found that
 all Sin (even that which had the fairest or
 finest shew, as well as that which was more
 course and foul) brought Guilt, and *with* and
for Guilt, Condemnation on the Soul that sin-
 ned. This I felt: and was greatly bowed
 down under the Sense thereof.

Now also did I receive a New Law, (an *In-
 ward Law* superadded to the *Outward*) *The Law
 of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*, which
 wrought in me against all Evil, not only *in
 Deed*, and *in Word*, but even *in Thought* also:
 so that every thing was brought to Judgment,
 and Judgment passed upon all. So that I could
 not any longer go on, in my former Ways, and
 Course of Life: for when I did, Judgment took
 hold upon me for it.

Thus the Lord was graciously pleased to
 deal with me, in somewhat like manner as he
 had dealt with his People *Israel* of Old (when
 they had transgressed his Righteous LAW)
 whom, by his Prophet, he called back, re-
 quired to *put away the Evil of their Doings*:
 bidding

bidding them, First, *Cease to Do Evil*; Then, 1659. *Learn to Do Well*: before He would admit them to *Reason with Him*; and before he would impart to them the *Effects of His free Mercy*, Ma. 1. 16, 17.

I was now required, by this *Inward and Spiritual LAW* (*The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*): to *put away the Evil of my Doings*; and to *Cease to do Evil*. And what, in Particulars, the *Evil* was, which I was required to *put away*, and to *cease from*: that Measure of the *Divine LIGHT*, which was now manifested in me, discovered to me: and what the *Light* made manifest to be *Evil*, Judgment passed upon.

So that here began to be a Way cast up, before me, for me to walk in: A direct and plain Way; so plain, *that a way-faring-Man*, how weak and simple soever (*though a Fool*, to the Wisdom, and in the Judgment of the World) *could not Err*, while he continued to walk in it: the Error *coming in* by his *going out of it*. And this Way, with respect to me, I saw was that Measure of *Divine Light*, which was manifested in me; by which the *Evil of my Doings*, which I was to put away, and to cease from, was discovered to me.

By this *Divine Light* then I saw, that though I had not the Evil of the *common Uncleaness, Debauchery, Prophaness, and Pollutions of the World* to put away, because I had, through the great *Goodness of GOD*, and a *Civil Education*, been preserved out of those *grosser Evils*:

1659. yet I had many other Evils to *put away*, and to *cease from*: some of which were not, by the World (*which lies in Wickedness*, 1 Joh. 5. 19.) accounted *Evils*: but by the *Light of Christ* were made manifest to me to be *Evils*, and, as such, condemned in me.

As particularly, Those *Fruits and Effects* of *P R I D E*, that discover themselves in the *Vanity* and *Superfluity* of *APPAREL*: which I (as far as my Ability would extend to) took, alas! too much Delight in. This *Evil of my Doings* I was required to *put away*, and *cease from*: and Judgment lay upon me till I did so. Wherefore, in Obedience to the *Inward Law* (which agreed with the *Outward*, 1 Tim. 2. 9. 1 Pet. 3. 3. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Jam. 1. 21.) I took off from my Apparel those unnecessary Trimmings of *Lace*, *Ribbands* and *useless Buttons*, which had no real Service: but were set on only for that, which was, by mistake, called *Ornament*. And I ceased to wear *Rings*.

Again, *The giving of flattering Titles to Men*, between whom and me there was not any Relation, to which such Titles could be pretended to belong. This was an *Evil* I had been much addicted to, and was accounted a ready Artift in: therefore this *Evil* also was I required to *put away*, and *cease from*. So that thenceforward I durst not say, *Sir*, *Master*, *My Lord*, *Madam* (or *My Dame*) or say, *Tour Servant*, to any one to whom I did not stand in the real Relation of a *Servant*; which I had never done to any.

Again,

Again, *Respect of Persons*, in Uncovering the *Head*, and *Bowing the Knee*, or *Body in Salutations*, was a Practice I had been much in the Use of. And this being one of the *Vain Customs* of the World, introduced by the Spirit of the World, instead of the true *Honour*, which this is a false Representation of; and used in Deceit, as a Token of *Respect*, by Persons one to another, who bear no *real Respect* one to another. And besides, This being a *Type*, and proper *Emblem* of that *Divine Honour* which all ought to pay to *Almighty G O D*, and which all, of all sorts (who take upon them the *Christian Name*) appear in, when they offer their Prayers to Him; and therefore should not be given to Men. I found this to be one of those *Evils*, which I had been too long doing; therefore I was now required to put it away, and cease from it.

Again, *The Corrupt and Unsound Form of Speaking in the Plural Number to a Single Person* (*T O U* to One, instead of *T H O U*;) contrary to the *Pure, Plain, and Single Language of T R U T H* (*T H O U* to One, and *T O U* to more than One) which had always been used, by *G O D* to Men, and Men to *G O D*, as well as one to another, from the oldest Record of Time, till *Corrupt Men*, for *Corrupt Ends*, in later and *Corrupt Times*, to *Flatter, Fawn*, and work upon the *Corrupt Nature in Men*, brought in that false and senseless Way of Speaking, *T O U* to One; which hath since corrupted the *Modern Languages*, and hath greatly debased the Spirits, and depraved the Manners of Men. This

Evil

1659. *Evil Custom* I had been as forward in as others ;
 and this I was now called out of, and required
 to cease from.

These, and many more *Evil Customs*, which
 had sprang up in the Night of Darknes, and
 general Apostacy from the TRUTH, and True
 RELIGION ; were now, by the Inshining of
 this pure Ray of *Divine Light* in my Conscience,
 gradually Discovered to me, to be what I ought
 to cease from, shun, and stand a Witness against.

But so subtilly, and withal so powerfully,
 did the Enemy work upon the weak Part in
 me, as to perswade me, that, in these things, I
 ought to make a Difference between my Father
 and all other Men : And that therefore, though
 I did disuse these Tokens of Respect to others,
 yet I ought still to use them towards him, as he
 was my Father. And so far did this Wile of
 his prevail upon me, through a Fear, lest I
 should do amiss, in withdrawing any sort of
 Respect, or Honour from my Father, which
 was due unto him ; that being thereby beguil-
 ed, I continued for a while to demean my self
 in the same manner towards him, with respect
 both to *Language* and *Gesture*, as I had always
 done before. And so long as I did so (standing
Bare before him, and giving him the accus-
 tomed Language) he did not express (whatever he
 thought) any Dislike of me.

But as to my self, and the Work begun in
 me ; I found it was not enough for me to *Cease*
to do Evil ; though that was a good and a great
 Step. I had another Lesson before me, which
 was

was, *To learn to do well*: which I could by no means do, till I had given up, with full Purpose of Mind, to *Cease from doing Evil*. And when I had done that, the Enemy took Advantage of my Weakness, to mislead me again. 1659.

For whereas I ought to have waited in the Light, for Direction and Guidance into, and in the Way of *Well-Doing*; and not to have moved till the *Divine Spirit* (a Manifestation of which the Lord hath been pleased to give unto me, for me to profit with, or by :) the Enemy, transforming himself into the Appearance of an Angel of Light, offered himself, in that Appearance, to be my Guide and Leader into the Performance of *Religious Exercises*. And I, not then knowing the Wiles of Satan, and being eager to be doing some acceptable Service to God; too readily yielded my self to the Conduct of my Enemy, instead of my Friend.

He thereupon humouring the warmth, and Zeal of my Spirit, put me upon Religious Performances, *in my own Will, in my own Time, and in my own Strength*; which in themselves were good, and would have been profitable unto me, and acceptable unto the Lord; if they had been performed *in His Will, in His Time, and in the Ability which He gives*. But being wrought in the Will of Man, and at the prompting of the *Evil One*; no wonder that it did me Hurt, instead of Good.

I Read abundantly in the BIBLE, and would set my self Tasks in Reading; injoyning my self to Read so many Chapters, sometimes
an

1659. an whole Book, or long Epistle, at a time.

And I thought that time well spent, though I was not much the wiser for what I had Read; reading it too cursorily, and without the true Guide, the *Holy Spirit*, which alone could open the Understanding, and give the true Sense of what was Read.

I Prayed often, and drew out my Prayers to a great length: and appointed unto my self certain set Times to Pray at, and a certain Number of Prayers to say in a Day; yet knew not, mean while, what true Prayer was. Which stands not in Words (though the Words which are uttered in the *Movings* of the *Holy Spirit* are very available;) but in the breathing of the Soul to the Heavenly Father, through the Operation of the *Holy Spirit*, who maketh *Intercession* sometimes in Words, and sometimes with Sighs and Groans only, which the Lord vouchsafes to hear, and Answer.

This *Will-Worship* (which all is, that is performed in the Will of Man, and not in the *Movings* of the *Holy Spirit*) was a great Hurt to me, and Hinderance of my Spiritual Growth in the Way of Truth. But my Heavenly Father, who knew the Sincerity of my Soul to Him, and the hearty Desire I had to Serve Him, had Compassion on me; and in due time was graciously pleased to *Illuminate* my Understanding farther, and to open in me an Eye to discern the *False Spirit*, and its way of Working, from the *True*: and to reject the former, and cleave to the latter.

But

But though the Enemy had, by his Subtilty, 1659. gain'd such Advantages over me; yet I went on notwithstanding, and firmly persisted in my Godly Resolution, of ceasing from, and denying those things, which I was now Convinced in my Conscience were Evil. And on this Account a great Trial came quickly on me. For the *General Quarter-Sessions* for the Peace coming on, my Father (willing to excuse himself from a dirty Journey) commanded me to get up betimes, and go to *Oxford*, and deliver in the *Recognizances* he had taken; and bring him an Account what Justices were on the Bench, and what principal Pleas were before 'em; which he knew I knew how to do, having often attended him on those Services.

I (who knew how it stood with me better than he did) felt a Weight come over me, as soon as he had spoke the Word. For I presently saw, it would bring a very great Exercise upon me. But having never resisted his Will, in any thing that was lawful, (as this was) I attempted not to make any Excuse; but, ordering an Horse to be ready for me early in the Morning, I went to Bed, having great Struglings in my Breast.

For the Enemy came in upon me, like a Flood, and set many Difficulties before me, swelling them up to the highest Pitch, by representing them as Mountains, which I should never be able to get over; And, alas! that Faith which could remove such Mountains, and cast them

1659. them into the Sea, was but very small, and
 weak in me.

He cast into my Mind, not only how I should behave my self in Court, and dispatch the Business I was sent about; but how I should demean my self towards my Acquaintance (of which I had many in that City) with whom I was wont to be Jolly: whereas now I could not put off my Hat, nor Bow, to any of them, nor give them their honorary Titles (as they are called) nor use the corrupt Language of *You* to any one of them; but must keep to the plain and true Language of *Thou* and *Thee*.

Much of this Nature revolved in my Mind, thrown in by the Enemy to discourage, and cast me down. And I had none to have recourse to, for Counsell or Help, but the Lord alone. To whom therefore I poured forth my Supplications, with earnest Cries and Breathings of Soul, that H E, in whom all Power was, would enable me to go through this great Exercise, and keep me faithful to Himself therein. And after some time, he was pleased to compose my Mind to Stillness, and I went to rest.

Early next Morning, I got up, and found my Spirit pretty calm and quiet; yet not without a Fear upon me, lest I should slip, and let fall the Testimony, which I had to bear. And as I rode, a frequent Cry ran through me to the Lord, on this wise; *O my God, Preserve me faithful, whatever befalls me! Suffer me not to be*
drawn

drawn into Evil, how much Scorn and Contempt 1659.
soever may be cast upon me! 

Thus was my Spirit exercis'd on the way almost continually. And when I was come within a Mile or two of the City, whom should I meet upon the Way, coming from thence, but *Edward Burrough!* I rode in a *Mauntier-Cap* (a Dress more used then, than now) and so did he: and because the Weather was exceeding sharp, we both had drawn our Caps down, to shelter our Faces from the Cold; and by that means neither of us knew the other, but passed by without taking Notice one of the other, till a few Days after meeting again, and observing each others Dress, we recollected where we had so lately met. Then thought I with myself, *O! How glad should I have been of a Word of Encouragement and Counsel from him, when I was under that weighty Exercise of Mind!* But the Lord saw it was not good for me: that my Reliance might be wholly upon him; and not on Man.

When I had set up my Horse, I went directly to the Hall, where the Sessions were held; where I had been but a very little while, before a Knot of my old Acquaintances espying me, came to me. One of these was a Scholar in his Gown; another a Surgeon of that City (both my School-Fellows, and Fellow-Boarders at *Thame-School*;) and the Third a Country Gentleman, with whom I had long been very Familiar.

When they were come up to me, they all saluted me, after the usual manner, putting off
their

1659. their Hats and Bowing; and saying, *Your Humble Servant, Sir*: expecting, no doubt, the like from me. But when they saw me stand still, not moving my Cap, nor bowing my Knee in way of *Congee* to them; they were amazed, and looked first one upon another, then upon me, and then one upon another again, for a while, without a Word speaking.

At length the Surgeon, (a brisk young Man) who stood nearest to me, clapping his Hand, in a familiar way, upon my Shoulder, and smiling on me, said, *What! Tom, a Quaker!* To which I readily, and cheerfully Answered, *Yes: A Quaker.* And as the Words passed out of my Mouth, I felt Joy spring in my Heart: for I rejoiced, that I had not been drawn out by them, into a Compliance with them; and that I had Strength and Boldness given me, to Confess my self to be one of that despised People.

They staid not long with me, nor said any more (that I remember) to me: but looking somewhat confusedly one upon another, after a while took their Leave of me; going off in the same ceremonious Manner, as they came on.

After they were gone, I walked a while about the Hall, and went up nearer to the Court; to observe both what Justices were on the Bench, and what Business they had before them. And I went in Fear (not of what they could, or would have done to me, if they should have taken notice of me, but) lest I should be surprized, and drawn unwarily into that, which I was to keep out of.

It was not long before the Court adjourned, 1659. to go to Dinner: And that time I took to go to the *Clerk of the Peace*, at his House, whom I was well acquainted with. So soon as I came into the Room where he was, he came and met me; and saluted me after his manner: for he had a great Respect for my Father, and a kind Regard for me. And tho' he was at first somewhat startled at my Carriage and Language: yet he treated me very civilly, without any Reflection, or shew of Lightness. I delivered him the *Recognizances*, which my Father had sent; and having done the Business I came upon, withdrew: and went to my Inn, to refresh my self, and then to return home.

But when I was ready to take Horse, looking out into the Street, I saw two or three Justices, standing just in the Way where I was to ride. This brought a fresh Concern upon me. I knew, if they saw me, they would know me: And I concluded, if they knew me, they would stop me to enquire after my Father; and I doubted how I should come off with them.

This Doubting brought Weakness on me; and that Weakness led to Contrivance, how I might avoid this Trial. I knew the City pretty well; and remembered there was a back Way, which, though somewhat about, would bring me out of Town, without passing by those Justices: Yet loth I was to go that Way. Wherefore I staid a pretty time, in hopes they would have parted Company, or removed to some other Place, out of my Way. But when

1659. I had waited till I was uneasie, for losing so much time; having entred into Reasonings with Flesh and Blood, the Weakness prevailed over me, and away I went the back Way: which brought Trouble and Grief upon my Spirit, for having shunned the Cross.

But the Lord looked on me with a tender Eye; and seeing my Heart was right to him, and that what I had done was meerly through Weakness, and Fear of Falling, and that I was sensible of my Failing therein, and sorry for it: he was graciously pleased to pass it by, and speak Peace to me again. So that, before I got home, as when I went in the Morning, my Heart was full of Breathing Prayer to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to be with me, and uphold and carry me through that Days Exercise: So now at my Return in the Evening, my Heart was full of thankful Acknowledgments, and Praises unto Him, for his great Goodness and Favour to me, in having thus far preserved, and kept me from falling into any thing that might have brought Dishonour to his Holy Name, which I had now taken on me.

But notwithstanding that it was thus with me, and that I found Peace and Acceptance with the Lord in some good degree, according to my Obedience to the Convictions I had received, by his *Holy Spirit* in me: yet was not the Vail so done away, or fully rent, but that there still remained a Cloud upon my Understanding, with respect to my Carriage towards my Father. And that Notion, which the Enemy

my had brought into my Mind, That I ought to ^{1659.} put such a Difference between him all others, as that, on the Account of Paternal Relation, I should still deport my self towards him, both in Gesture and Language, as I had always heretofore done; did yet prevail with me. So that when I came home, I went to my Father bare-headed, as I used to do; and gave him a particular Account of the Business he had given me in Command, in such manner, that he, observing no alteration in my Carriage towards him, found no Cause to take Offence at me.

I had felt for sometime before, an earnest Desire of Mind to go again to *Isaac Penington's*. And I began to question whether, when my Father should come (as I concluded e're long he would) to understand I enclined to settle among the People called *Quakers*, he would permit me the Command of his Horses, as before. Wherefore, in the Morning when I went to *Oxford*, I gave Direction to a Servant of his, to go that Day to a Gentleman of my Acquaintance (who I knew had a Riding Nag to put off, either by Sale, or to be kept for his Work;) and desire him, in my Name, to send him to me; which he did, and I found him in the Stable, when I came home.

On this Nag I designed to ride next Day to *Isaac Penington's*: and in order thereunto, arose betimes and got my self ready for the Journey. But because I would pay all due Respects to my Father, and not go without his Consent, or Knowledge at the least, I sent one up to him

1659 (for he was not yet stirring) to acquaint him, *that I had a Purpose to go to Isaac Penington's; and desired to know if he pleased to Command me any Service to them. He sent me Word, He would speak with me before I went; and would have me come up to him: which I did; and stood by his Bed-Side.*

Then in a mild and gentle Tone, he said, *I understand you have a Mind to go to Mr. Penington's. I answered, I have so. Why, said he, I wonder why you should. You were there, you know, but a few Days ago; and unless you had Business with them, don't you think it will look odd? I said, I I thought not. I doubt, said he, You'll tire them with your Company, and make them think they shall be troubled with you. If, replied I, I find any thing of that, I'll make the shorter Stay. But, said he, can you propose any sort of Business with them, more than a meer Visit? Yes, said I, I propose to my self not only to see them; but to have some Discourse with them. Why, said he (in a Tone a little Harsher) I hope you don't incline to be of their Way. Truly, answered I, I like them, and their Way, very well; so far as I yet understand it: and I am willing to Go to them, that I may understand it better.*

Thereupon he began to reckon up a Bead-Roll of Faults against the Quakers; Telling me *They were a rude unmannerly People, that would not give Civil Respect or Honour to their Superiors; no not to Magistrates: That they held many dangerous Principles: That they were an immodest, shameless People; and that one of them strip't himself*

self stark-naked, and went in that unseemly manner 1659. about the Streets, at Fairs, and on Market-days in great Towns.

To all the other Charges, I answered only, That perhaps they might be either misreported, or misunderstood, as the best of People had sometimes been. But to the last Charge, of *Going Naked*, a particular Answer, by way of Instance, was just then brought into my Mind, and put into my Mouth, which I had not thought of before: and that was the Example of *Isaiah*, who went *Naked*, among the People, for a long time, (*Isai. 20. 4.*) *Aye*, said my Father, *but you must consider, that He was a Prophet of the Lord, and had an express Command from God to Go so.* Yes, Sir, replied I, I do consider that: but I consider also, that the *Jews* among whom he lived, did not own him for a Prophet, nor believe that he had such a Command from God. And, added I, how know we but that this *Quaker* may be a Prophet too, and might be commanded to do as he did, for some Reason which we understand not.

This put my Father to a stand; so that letting fall his Charges against the *Quakers*, he only said, *I would wish you not to go so soon; but take a little time to consider of it: you may Visit Mr. Penington hereafter.* Nay, Sir, replied I, Pray don't hinder my going now: for I have so strong a Desire to go, that I do not well know how to forbear. And as I spake those Words, I withdrew gently to the Chamber-Door; and then hastning down Stairs, went immediately

1659. to the Stable: where finding my Horſe ready
w Bridled, I forthwith mounted, and went off;
left I ſhould receive a Countermand.

This Diſcourſe with my Father had caſt me ſomewhat back in my Journey, and it being Fifteen long Miles thither, the Ways bad, and my Nag but ſmall: it was in the Afternoon that I got thither. And underſtanding by the Servant that took my Horſe, that there was then a Meeting in the Houſe (as there was Weekly on that Day, which was the *Fourth Day* of the Week, though I, till then, underſtood it not) I haſtened in; and knowing the Rooms, went directly to the *Little Parlour*, where I found a few Friends ſitting together in Silence: and I ſate down among them, well ſatisfied, though without Words.

When the Meeting was ended, and thoſe of the Company, who were Strangers, withdrawn, I addreſſed my ſelf to *Iſaac Penington* and his Wife, who received me courteouſly: but not knowing what Exerciſe I had been in, and yet was under, nor having heard any thing of me, ſince I had been there before, in another Garb, were not forward at firſt to lay ſuddain Hands on me; which I obſerved, and did not diſlike. But as they came to ſee a Change in me, not in Habit only, but in Geſture, Speech and Carriage, and which was more, in Countenance alſo: (for the Exerciſe I had paſſed through, and yet was under, had imprinted a viſible Character of Gravity upon my Face;) they were exceeding kind, and tender towards me.

There

There was then in the Family a Friend, 1659
 whose Name was *Anne Curtis* (the Wife of *Thomas Curtis* of *Reading*) who was come upon
 a Visit to them, and particularly to see *Mary*
Penington's Daughter *Guli*: who had been ill
 of the *Small Pox*, since I had been there before.
 Betwixt *Mary Penington* and this Friend, I ob-
 served some private Discourse, and Whisper-
 ings; and I had an Apprehension that it was
 upon something that concerned me. Where-
 fore I took the freedom to ask *Mary Penington*,
 If my coming thither had occasioned any In-
 convenience in the Family? She asked me, If
I had had the Small Pox? I told her no. She
 then told me, *Her Daughter had newly had them;*
and though she was well recovered of them, she had
not as yet been down amongst them: but intended
to have come down, and sate with them in the Par-
lour that Evening; yet would rather forbear, till
another time, than Endanger me. And that that
was the matter they had been discoursing of. I assu-
 red her, that I had always been, and then,
 more especially, was free from any Apprehen-
 sion of Danger in that respect: and therefore
 intreated, that her Daughter might come
 down. And although they were somewhat
 unwilling to yield to it, in regard of me; yet
 my Importunity prevailed, and after Supper
 she did come down, and sit with us: and tho'
 the Marks of the Distemper were fresh upon
 her; yet they made no Impression upon me;
Faith keeping out Fear.

1659. We spent much of the Evening in Retirement of Mind, our Spirits being weightily gathered inward: so that not much Discourse passed among us; neither they to me, nor I to them, offered any Occasion. Yet I had good Satisfaction in that Stilness; feeling my Spirit drawn near to the Lord, and to them therein.

Before I went to Bed, they let me know, that there was to be a Meeting at *Wiccomb* next Day; and that some of the Family would go to it. I was very glad of it: for I greatly desired to go to Meetings; and this fell very aptly, it being in my way home. Next Morning, *Isaac Penington* himself went, having *Anne Curtis* with him; and I accompanied them.

At *Wiccomb* we met with *Edward Burrough*; who came from *Oxford* thither, that Day that I, going thither, met him on the Way: and having both our *Mountier-Caps* on, we recollected that we had met, and passed by each other on the Road unknown.

This was a Monthly Meeting, consisting of *Friends* chiefly, who gathered to it from several Parts of the Country thereabouts: so that it was pretty large, and was held in a fair Room in *Jeremiah Steevens's* House; the Room, where I had been at a Meeting before, in *John Raunce's* House, being too little to receive us.

A very good Meeting was this, in its self, and to me. *Edward Burrough's* Ministry came forth among us in Life and Power; and the Assembly was covered therewith. I also, according to my small Capacity, had a Share there-

therein. For I felt some of that Divine Power, 1659. working my Spirit into a great Tenderness; and not only Confirming me in the Course I had already entred, and strengthening me to go on therein: but rending also the Vail somewhat further, and Clearing my Understanding in some other things, which I had not seen before. For the Lord was pleased to make his Discoveries to me by degrees; that the Sight of too great a Work, and too many Enemies to encounter with at once, might not discourage me, and make me faint.

When the Meeting was ended, the *Friends* of the Town, taking notice, that I was the Man that had been at their Meeting the Week before, whom they then did not know; some of them came, and spake lovingly to me, and would have had me staid with them: but *Edward Burrough* going home with *Isaac Penington*. he invited me to go back with him; which I willingly consented to. For the Love I had more particularly to *Edward Burrough*, through whose Ministry I had received the first awakening Stroke, drew me to desire his Company; and so away we rode together.

But I was somewhat disappointed of my Expectation: for I hoped he would have given me both Opportunity and Encouragement, to have opened my self to him, and to have poured forth my Complaints, Fears, Doubts and Questionings into his Bosom. But he, being sensible that I was truly reach'd; and that the *Witness* of God was raised, and the *Work* of God rightly

1659. rightly begun in me: chose to leave me to the
 ~~~~~ *Guidance of the good Spirit in my self* (the Coun-  
 sellor that could resolve all Doubts) that I might  
 not have any Dependence on Man. Where-  
 fore, although he was naturally of an open,  
 and free Temper and Carriage; and was after-  
 wards always very familiar, and affectionately  
 kind to me: yet at this time he kept himself  
 somewhat reserved, and shewed only common  
 Kindness to me.

Next Day we parted. He, for *London*: I  
 home; under a very great Weight and Exer-  
 cise upon my Spirit. For I now saw, in and by  
 the farther *Openings* of the DIVINE LIGHT  
 in me, that the Enemy, by his *false Reasonings*,  
 had *beguiled* and *misted* me, with respect to my  
*Carriage towards my Father*. For I now clearly  
 saw, That the *Honour* due to *Parents*, did  
 not consist in *Uncovering the Head*, and *Bow-*  
*ing the Body* to them; but in a *ready Obedience*  
*to their Lawful Commands*, and in *Performing all*  
*needful Services unto them*. Wherefore, as I  
 was greatly troubled for what I already had  
 done, in that Case, though it was through Ig-  
 norance: So I plainly felt I could no longer  
 continue therein, without drawing on my self  
 the Guilt of *wilful Disobedience*; which I well  
 knew would draw after it *Divine Displeasure*  
 and *Judgment*.

Hereupon the Enemy assaulted me afresh;  
 setting before me the *Danger* I should run my  
 self into, of provoking my Father to use Seve-  
 rity towards me: and perhaps to the casting  
 me


me utterly off. But over this Temptation the 1659.  
Lord, whom I cried unto, supported me; and gave me Faith to believe, that he would bear me through whatever might befall me on that Account. Wherefore I resolved, in the Strength which he should give me, to be faithful to his *Requirings*, whatever might come on it.

Thus labouring under various Exercises on the Way, I at length got home; expecting I should have but a rough Reception from my Father. But when I came home, I understood my Father was from home. Wherefore I sat down, by the Fire, in the Kitchen; keeping my Mind retired to the Lord, with Breathings of Spirit to Him, that I might be preserved from falling.

After some time I heard the Coach drive in, which put me into a little Fear, and a sort of Shivering came over me. But by that time he was alighted and come in, I had pretty well recovered my self; and as soon as I saw him, I rose up, and advanced a Step or two towards him, with my Head covered, said, *Isaac Penington* and his Wife remember their Loves to thee.

He made a Stop to hear what I said, and observing that I did not stand bare, and that I used the Word [*Thee*] to him; He, with a stern Countenance, and Tone that spake high Displeasure, only said, *I shall talk with you, Sir, another time*: and so hastening from me, went into the Parlour; and I saw him no more that Night.

Tho'

1659. Though I forefaw there was a Storm arising,  the Apprehension of which was uneasie to me : yet the Peace which I felt in my own Breast, raised in me a Return of Thanksgivings to the Lord, for his gracious supporting Hand ; which had thus far carried me through this Exercise : with humble Cries in Spirit to Him, that He would vouchsafe to stand by me in it to the End ; and uphold me, that I might not fall.

My Spirit longed to be among *Friends*, and to be at some Meeting with them on the *First Day*, which now drew on ; this being the *Sixth Day Night*. Wherefore I purposed to go to *Oxford* on the *Morrow* (which was the *Seventh Day* of the Week) having heard there was a Meeting there. Accordingly, having ordered my Horse to be made ready betimes, I got up in the Morning and made my self ready also. Yet before I would go, (that I might be as observant to my Father, as possibly I could) I desired my Sister to go up to him in his Chamber, and acquaint him, that I had a Mind to go to *Oxford* ; and desired to know if he pleased to Command me any Service there. He bid her tell me, *He would not have me go, till he had spoken with me.* And getting up immediately, he hastened down to me, before he was quite dressed.

As soon as he saw me standing with my Hat on, his Passion transporting him, he fell upon me with both his Fists ; and having by that Means somewhat vented his Anger, he plucked off my Hat, and threw it away. Then stepping

ping hastily out to the Stable, and seeing my <sup>1659.</sup> borrowed Nag stand ready Saddled and Bridled, he asked his Man *Whence that Horse came?* who telling him he fetch't it from Mr.— such an One's: *Then ride him presently back,* said my Father, *and tell Mr.—— I desire he will never lend my Son an Horse again, unless he brings a Note from me.*

The poor Fellow, who loved me well, would fain have made Excuses and Delays; but my Father was positive in his Command: and so urgent, that he would not let him stay so much as to take his Breakfast (though he had Five Miles to ride;) nor would he himself stir from the Stable, till he had seen the Man mounted, and gone.

Then coming in, he went up into his Chamber, to make himself more fully ready; thinking he had me safe enough, now my Horse was gone: for I took so much Delight in Riding, that I seldom went on Foot.

But while he was dressing himself in his Chamber, I (who understood what had been done) changing my Boots for Shoes, took another Hat; and acquainting my Sister (who loved me very well, and whom I could confide in) whither I meant to go, went out privately, and walked away to *Wiccomb*, having Seven long Miles thither: which yet seem'd little and easie to me; from the Desire I had to be among *Friends*.

As thus I travelled all alone, under a Load of Grief, from the Sense I had of the Opposition,

1659. tion, and Hardship I was to expect from my Father; the Enemy took Advantage to Assault me again, casting a Doubt into my Mind, *Whether I had done well, in thus coming away from my Father, without his Leave or Knowledge?*

I was quiet and peaceable in my Spirit, before this Question was darted into me; but after that, Disturbance and Trouble seized upon me: so that I was at a stand what to do; whether to go forward or backward. *Fear of offending* inclined me to go back; but *Desire of the Meeting*, and to be with *Friends*, pressed me to go forward.

I stood still a while, to consider and weigh, as well as I could, the Matter. I was sensibly satisfied, that I had not left my Father with any Intention of *Undutifulness*, or *Disrespect* to him; but meerly in Obedience to that *Drawing of Spirit*, which I was perswaded was of the LORD, to join with *His People* in *Worshipping Him*: and this made me easie.

But then the Enemy, to make me uneasie again, objected, *But how could that Drawing be of the LORD, which drew me to disobey my Father?*

I considered thereupon the Extent of *Paternal Power*; which I found was not wholly *Arbitrary* and *Unlimited*: but had Bounds set unto it. So that as in *Civil Matters*, it was restrained to *Things Lawful*: so in *Spiritual* and *Religious Cases*, it had not a *compulsory Power* over *Conscience*: which ought to be *Subject* to the *Heavenly Father*. And therefore though *Obedience to Parents*, be enjoyned to *Children*; yet it is with this Limitation, [IN THE LORD:]  
 Chil.

*Children, obey your Parents in the Lord: for this is right,* 1 Pet. 6. 1. 1659.

This turned the Scale for going forward: and so on I went. And yet I was not wholly free from some Fluctuations of Mind, from the Besettings of the Enemy. Wherefore, altho' I knew that *Outward Signs* did not properly belong to the *Gospel Dispensation*: yet for my better Assurance, I did, in Fear and great Humility, beseech the Lord, that He would be pleased so far to condescend to the Weakness of his Servant, as to give me a Sign, by which I might certainly know, whether my Way was right before Him, or not.

The Sign which I asked was, *That if I had done wrong, in Coming as I did, I might be Rejected, or but coldly received, at the Place I was Going to: but if this mine Undertaking was right in his Sight, he would give me Favour with them I went to; so that they should receive me with hearty Kindness and Demonstrations of Love.* Accordingly, when I came to John Rance's House (which, being so much a Stranger to all, I chose to go to, because I understood the Meeting was commonly held there;) they received me with more than ordinary Kindness; especially *Frances Rance* (*John Rance's* then Wife;) who was both a Grave and Motherly Woman, and had a hearty Love to Truth, and Tenderness towards all that, in Sincerity, sought after it. And this so kind Reception, confirming me in the Belief, that my Undertaking was *Approved of by the LORD*, gave great Satisfaction and Ease to

1659. to my Mind ; and I was thankful to the Lord  
 therefore.

Thus it fared with me there : but at Home it fared otherwise with my Father. He supposing I had betaken my self to my Chamber, when he took my Hat from me, made no Enquiry after me, till Evening came ; and then sitting by the Fire, and considering that the Weather was very cold, he said to my Sister, who sate by him, *Go up to your Brother's Chamber, and call him down : it may be he will sit there else, in a sullen Fit, till he has caught Cold.* Alas ! Sir, said she, *He is not in his Chamber, nor in the House neither.* At that my Father startling, said, *Why where is he then ?* I know not, Sir, said she. *where he is : but I know that, when he saw you had sent away his Horse, he put on Shoos, and went out on Foot ; and I have not seen him since.* And indeed, Sir, added she, *I don't wonder at his going away ; considering how you used him.* This put my Father into a great Fright, doubting I was gone quite away : and so great a Passion of Grief seized on him, that he forbore not to Weep, and to cry out aloud (so that the Family heard him) *Oh ! my Son ! I shall never see him more ! For he is of so bold and resolute a Spirit, that he will run himself into Danger, and so may be thrown into some Goal or other, where he may lie and die, before I can hear of him.* Then bidding her light him up to his Chamber, he went immediately to Bed ; where he lay Restless and Groaning, and often bemoaning himself and me, for the greatest Part of the Night.

Next



Next Morning my Sister sent a Man (whom, <sup>1659.</sup> for his Love to me, she knew she could trust) to give me this Account: and though by him she sent me also fresh Linnen for my Use, in case I should go farther, or stay out longer; yet she desired me to come home as soon as I could.

This Account was very uneasie to me. I was much grieved that I had occasioned so much Grief to my Father. And I would have returned that Evening, after the Meeting; but the Friends would not permit it: for the Meeting would in likelihood end late, the Days being short; and the Way was long, and dirty. And besides, *John Rance* told me, that he had something on his Mind to speak to my Father; and that, if I would stay till the next Day he would go down with me: hoping perhaps, that while my Father was under this Sorrow for me, he might work some good upon him. Hereupon, concluding to stay till the Morrow, I dismiss't the Man with the things he brought; bidding him tell my Sister, I intended (God willing) to return home to Morrow: and charging him not to let any Body else know, that he had seen me, or where he had been.

Next Morning *John Rance* and I set out; and when we were come to the End of the Town, we agreed, that he should go before, and knock at the great Gate; and I would come a little after, and go in by the back Way. He did so; and when a Servant came to open the Gate, he asking if the Justice were at home, she told  
F him,

1659. him, *Yes* : and desiring him to come in, and  
 W fit down in the Hall ; went and acquainted her  
 Master, that there was one who desired to speak  
 with him. He, supposing it was one that came  
 for Justice, went readily into the Hall to him.  
 But he was not a little surprized, when he found  
 it was a *Quaker*. Yet not knowing on what  
 account he came, he staid to hear his Business.  
 But when he found it was about me, he fell  
 somewhat sharply on him..

In this time I was come, by the back way,  
 into the Kitchen ; and hearing my Father's  
 Voice so loud, I began to doubt things wrought  
 not well : but I was soon assured of that. For  
 my Father having quickly enough of a *Quaker's*  
 Company, left *John Rance* in the Hall, and  
 came into the Kitchen ; where he was more  
 surprized to find me.

The Sight of my Hat upon my Head made  
 him presently forget, that I was that Son of  
 his, whom he had so lately lamented as lost ;  
 and his Passion of Grief turning into Anger,  
 he could not contain himself : but running up-  
 on me, with both his Hands, first violently  
 snatch't off my Hat, and threw it away. Then  
 giving me some Buffets on my Head, he said,  
*Sirrah, Get you up to your Chamber.*

I forthwith went ; he following me at the  
 Heels, and now and then giving me a Whirret  
 on the Ear : which (the way to my Chamber  
 lying through the Hall, where *John Rance* was)  
 he, poor Man, might see, and be sorry for (as  
 I doubt not but he was) but could not help me.

This

This was sure an unaccountable thing, That <sup>1659.</sup> my Father should, but a Day before, express so high a Sorrow for me, as fearing he should never see me any more: and yet now, so soon as he did see me, should fly upon me with such Violence, and that only because I did not put off my Hat; which he knew I did not keep on, in *Disrespect* to him, but upon a *Religious Principle*. But as this *Hat-Honour* (as it was accounted) was grown to be a great *Idol*; in those times more especially: so the Lord was pleased to engage his Servants in a steady Testimony against it; what suffering soever was brought upon them for it. And though some, who have been called in the Lord's Vineyard at latter Hours, and since the Heat of that Day hath been much over; may be apt to account this Testimony a *small thing* to suffer *so much* upon, as some have done, not only to *Beating*, but to *Fines*, and *long and hard Imprisonments*; yet they who, in those Times, were *faithfully* Exercised *in and under* it, durst not despise the *Day of small things*; as knowing that he who should do so, would not be thought worthy to be concerned in *higher Testimonies*.

I had now lost one of my Hats, and I had but one more. That therefore I put on; but did not keep it long: for the next time my Father saw it on my Head, he tore it violently from me; and laid it up, with the other, I knew not where. Wherefore I put on my *Mountier-Cap*, which was all I had left to wear on my Head; and it was but a very little while

1659. that I had that to wear: for as soon as my Father came where I was, I lost that also. And now I was forced to go bear-Headed, wherever I had Occasion to go, within Doors and without.

This was in the *Eleventh Month* (called *January*) and the Weather sharp; so that I, who had been bred up more tenderly, took so great a Cold in my Head, that my Face and Head were much swelled: and my Gums had on them Boils so sore, that I could neither Chew Meat, nor, without Difficulty, swallow Liquids. It held long, and I underwent much Pain, without much Pity, except from my poor Sister; who did what she could to give me Ease: and at length, by frequent Applications of Figs, and stoned Raisins, toasted, and laid to the Boils as hot as I could bear them, they ripened fit for Lancing; and soon after sunk, then I had Ease.

Now was I laid up, as a kind of Prisoner, for the rest of this Winter; having no means to go forth among *Friends*: nor they Liberty to come to me. Wherefore I spent the Time much in my Chamber, in Waiting on the LORD, and in Reading; mostly in the *Bible*.

But whenever I had occasion to speak to my Father, though I had no Hat now to offend him; yet my Language did as much: for I durst not say [YOU] to him; but THOU, or THEE, as the Occasion required, and then would he be sure to fall on me with his Fists.

At one of these times, I remember, when <sup>1659.</sup> he had beaten me in that Manner, he commanded me (as he commonly did at such times) to Go to my Chamber; which I did, and he followed me to the Bottom of the Stairs. Being come thither, he gave me a Parting-Blow; and in a very angry Tone, said, *Sirrah, If ever I hear you say Thou or Thee to me again, I'll strike your Teeth down your Throat.* I was greatly grieved to hear him say so. And feeling a Word rise in my Heart unto him; I turned again, and calmly said unto him. Would it not be just, if God should serve thee so: when thou sayest *Thou* or *Thee* to Him? Though his Hand was up, I saw it sink, and his Countenance fall, and he turned away, and left me standing there. But I notwithstanding went up into my Chamber, and Cryed unto the Lord, earnestly beseeching Him, that he would be pleased to open my Father's Eyes, that he might see whom he fought against; and for what: and that He would turn his Heart.

After this I had a pretty time of Rest and Quiet from these Disturbances: my Father not saying any thing to me, nor giving me Occasion to say any thing to him. But I was still under a kind of Confinement; unless I would have run about the Country bare-headed, like a Mad-Man: which I did not see it was my Place to do. For I found that, although to be abroad, and at Liberty among my Friends, would have been more pleasant to me: yet Home was at present my proper Place; a

1659. School, in which I was to learn with *Patience* to Bear the Cross: and I willingly submitted to it.

But after some time, a fresh Storm, more fierce and sharp than any before, arose, and fell upon me: the Occasion whereof was this. My Father, having been (in his younger Years, more especially while he lived in *London*) a constant Hearer of those who are called *Puritan-Preachers*, had stored up a pretty stock of *Scripture-Knowledge*, did sometimes (not constantly, nor very often) cause his Family to come together, on a *First Day* in the Evening; and expound a Chapter to them, and Pray. His Family now, as well as his Estate, was lessen'd; for my Mother was dead, my Brother gone, and my elder Sister at *London*: and having put off his *Husbandry*, he had put off with it most of his Servants; so that he had now but one Man, and one Maid-Servant. It so fell out, that on a *First Day* Night, he bid my Sister (who sat with him in the Parlour) *Call in the Servants to Prayer*.

Whether this was done as a Trial upon me, or no, I know not; but a Trial it proved to me: For they (loving me very well, and disliking my Father's Carriage to me) made no haste to go in; but staid a second Summons. This so offended him, that when at length they did go in, he, instead of Going to *Prayer*, Examined them, *Why they came not in when they were first Called*: and the Answer they gave him being such as rather heightened, than abated his

his Displeasure; he, with an angry Tone, said, *1659*  
*Call in that Fellow* (meaning me, who was left  
alone in the Kitchin) *for he is the Cause of all*  
*this*; They, as they were backward to go in  
themselves; so were not forward to call me in,  
fearing the Effect of my Father's Displeasure  
would fall upon me: as it soon did: for I,  
hearing what was said, and not staying for the  
Call, went in of my self. And as soon as I  
was come in, my Father discharged his Dis-  
pleasure on me, in very sharp and bitter Ex-  
pressions: which drew from me (in the Grief  
of my Heart, to see him so transported with  
Passion) these few Words; *They that can Pray*  
*with such a Spirit, let 'em: for my part I cannot.*  
With that my Father flew upon me with both  
his Fists; and not thinking that sufficient, step't  
hastily to the Place where his Cane stood: and  
catching that up, laid me on (I thought) with  
all his Strength. And, I being bare-headed, I  
thought his Blows must needs have broken my  
Scull, had I not laid mine Arm over my Head,  
to defend it.

His Man, seeing this, and not able to con-  
tain himself, step't in between us; and laying  
hold on the Cane, by Strength of Hand held  
it so fast, that though he attempted not to take  
it away, yet he with-held my Father from  
striking with it: which did but enrage him the  
more. I disliked this in the Man; and bid him  
let go the Cane, and be gone: which he imme-  
diately did, and turning to be gone, had a  
F 4 Blow

1659. Blow on the Shoulders for his Pains ; which yet  
 did not much hurt him.

But now my Sister, fearing lest my Father should fall upon me again ; besought him to forbear : adding, *Indeed, Sir, if you strike him any more, I will throw open the Casement, and Cry Murther ; for I am afraid you will kill my Brother.* This stop't his Hand ; and after some Threatning Speeches, he commanded me to *Get to my Chamber* : which I did ; as I always did whenever he bid me.

Thither, soon after, my Sister followed me, to see my Arm, and dress it : for it was, indeed, very much bruised and swelled, between the Wrist and the Elbow ; and in some places the Skin was broken, and beaten off. But though it was very sore ; and I felt for some time much Pain in it : yet I had Peace and Quietness in my Mind ; being more grieved for my Father, than for my self, who I knew had hurt himself, more than me.

This was (so far as I remember) the last time, that ever my Father called his Family to Prayer. And this was also the last time, that he ever fell, so severely at least, upon me.

Soon after this my Elder Sister (who, in all the time of these Exercises of mine, had been at London) returned home ; much troubled to find me a *Quaker*, a Name of Reproach and great Contempt then : and she, being at London, had received, I suppose, the worst Character of them. Yet, though she disliked the  
 Peo-



People; her affectionate Regard to me, made <sup>1659.</sup> her rather Pity, than Despise me: and the more, when she understood what hard Usage I had met with.

The rest of this Winter I spent in a lonesome solitary Life; having none to Converse with, none to unbosom my self unto, none to ask Counsel of, none to seek Relief from, but the LORD alone; who yet was more than All. And yet the Company and Society of Faithful and Judicious *Friends*, would (I thought) have been very welcome, as well as helpful to me in my Spiritual Travel: in which I thought I made but a slow Progress; my Soul breathing after further Attainments; The Sence of which drew from me the following Lines:

*The Winter Tree  
Resembles me,  
Whose Sap lies in its Root:  
The Spring draws nigh;  
As it, so I  
Shall bud, I hope, and shoot.*

At length it pleased the Lord to move *Isaac* <sup>1660.</sup> *Penington* and his Wife to make a Visit to my Father, and see how it fared with me: And very welcome they were to me; whatever they were to him: to whom I doubt not but they would have been more welcome, had it not been for me.

They tarried with us all Night; and much Discourse they had with my Father, both about the  
the

1660. the Principle of TRUTH in general, and me in particular: which I was not privy to. But one thing, I remember, I afterwards heard of, which was this.

When my Father and we were at their House, some Months before, *Mary Penington*, in some Discourse between them, had told him how hardly her Husband's Father (Alderman *Penington*) had dealt with him about his Hat: which my Father (little then thinking that it would, and so soon too, be his own Case) did very much Censure the Alderman for: wondering that so wise a Man as he was, should take Notice of such a trivial Thing, as the *Putting off, or keeping on a Hat*; and he spared not to blame him liberally for it.

This gave her a Handle, to take hold of him by. And having had an ancient Acquaintance with him; and he having always had an high Opinion of, and Respect for her: she, who was a Woman of great Wisdom; of ready Speech, and of a well-resolved Spirit, did press so close upon him, with this Home-Argument, that he was utterly to seek, and at a loss how to defend himself.

After Dinner next Day, when they were ready to take Coach to return home; she desired my Father that; since my Company was so little acceptable to him, he would give me leave to Go, and spend some time with them, where I should be sure to be welcome.

He was very unwilling I should go; and made many Objections against it: all which she

he Answered, and removed so clearly, that 1660. not finding what Excuse further to alledge; he, at length left it to me; and I soon turned the Scale for Going.

We were come to the Coach-side before this was concluded on, and I was ready to step in; when one of my Sisters privately put my Father in Mind, that I had never a Hat on. That somewhat startled him: for he did not think it fit I should go from home (and that so far, and to stay abroad) without a Hat. Wherefore he whispered to her, to fetch me a Hat, and he entertained them with some Discourse in the mean time. But as soon as he saw the Hat coming, he would not stay till it came, lest I should put it on before him; but breaking off his Discourse abruptly, took his leave of them, and hastened in, before the Hat was brought to me.

I had not one Penny of Money about me; nor any, indeed, elsewhere. For my Father, so soon as he saw that I would be a *Quaker*, took from me both what Money I had, and every thing else of Value, or that would have made Money, as some Plate Buttons, Rings, &c. pretending that he would keep them for me, till I came to my self again, lest I, in the mean time should destroy them.

But as I had no Money; so, being among my Friends, I had no need of any, nor ever honed after it: though once upon a particular Occasion I had like to have wanted it. The Case was thus,

I had

1660. I had been at *Reading*, and set out from thence on the First Day of the Week, in the Morning : intending to reach (as, in point of Time, I well might) to *Isaac Penington's*; where the Meeting was to be that Day : but when I came to *Maidenhead* (a thorough-fair Town on the Way) I was stop't by the Watch for Riding on that Day.

The Watchman, laying hold on the Bridle, told me, *I must go with him to the Constable* : and accordingly I, making no Resistance, suffered him to lead my Horse to the Constable's Door. When we were come there, the Constable told me, *I must go before the Warden* (who was the Chief Officer of that Town) and bid the Watchman bring me on, himself walking before.

Being come to the Warden's Door, the Constable knock't, and desired to speak with Mr. *Warden*. He thereupon quickly coming to the Door, the Constable said, *Sir, I have brought a Man here to you, whom the Watch took riding through the Town*. The Warden was a budge old Man; and I looked somewhat big too: having a good Gelding under me, and a good Riding Coat on my Back; both which my Friend *Isaac Penington* had kindly accommodated me with for that Journey.

The Warden therefore taking me to be (as the Saying is) *Somebody*; put off his Hat, and made a low Congee to me: but when he saw that I sate still, and neither bowed to him, nor moved my Hat; he gave a start, and said  
to

to the Constable, *You said you had brought a Man,* 1660. *but he don't behave himself like a Man.* ~

I sate still upon my Horse, and said not a Word; but kept my Mind retired to the Lord: waiting to see what this would come to.

The Warden then began to Examine me, Asking me *Whence I came?* and *Whither I was going?* I told him I came from *Reading*, and was going to *Chalfont*. He asked me *Why I did Travel on that Day?* I told him, I did not know that it would give any Offence barely to Ride, or Walk on that Day; so long as I did not Carry or Drive any Carriage, or Horses laden with Burthens. *Why*, said he, *if your Business was urgent, did you not take a Pass from the Mayor of Reading?* Because, replied I, I did not know, nor think I should have needed one. *Well*, said he, *I will not talk with you now, because it is time to Go to Church; but I will Examine you further anon:* And turning to the Constable, *Have him*, said he, *to an Inn, and bring him before me after Dinner.*

The Naming of an Inn put me in Mind, that such publick Houses were places of Expence; and I knew I had no Money to defray it. Wherefore I said to the Warden, Before thou sendest me to an Inn, which may occasion some Expence; I think it needful to acquaint thee, that I have no Money.

At that the Warden startled again; and turning quick upon me, said, *How! No Money! How can that be? You don't look like a Man that has no Money.* However I look, said I, I tell thee

1660. thee the Truth, that I have no Money : and I  
w tell it to forewarn thee, that thou mayst not  
bring any Charge upon the Town. *I wonder,*  
said he, *what Art you have got, that you can Travel without Money : you can do more, I assure you, than I can.*

I making no Answer, he went on, and said, *Well, well ! but if you have no Money, you have a good Horse under you ; and we can Distrain him for the Charge.* But, said I, the Horse is not mine. No ! said he, *But you have a good Coat on your Back : and that, I hope, is your own :* No, said I, but it is not : for I borrowed both the Horse and the Coat.

With that the Warden, holding up his Hands, and smiling, said, *Bless me ! I never met with such a Man as you are before ! What ! were you set out by the Parish ?* Then turning to the Constable, he said, *Have him to the Grayhound, and bid the People be civil to him.* Accordingly to the Grayhound I was led ; my Horse set up, and I put into a large Room : and some Account, I suppose, given of me to the People of the House.

This was new Work to me ; and what the Issue of it would be, I could not foresee : but being left there alone, I sat down, and retired in Spirit to the Lord (in whom alone my Strength and Safety was) and beg'd support of Him ; even that he would be pleased to give me Wisdom, and Words to Answer the Warden, when I should come to be Examined again before him.

After

After some time, having Pen, Ink and Paper 1660. about me, I set my self to write what I thought might be proper, if Occasion served, to give the Warden. And while I was writing, the Master of the House being come home from his Worship, sent the Tapster to me, to invite me to dine with him. I bid him tell his Master, that I had not any Money to pay for my Dinner. He sent the Man again to tell me, *I should be welcome to dine with him, though I had no Money.* I desired him to tell his Master, that I was very sensible of his Civility and Kindness, in so courteously inviting me to his Table; but I had not freedom to eat of his Meat, unless I could have paid for it. So he went on with his Dinner, and I with my Writing.

But before I had finished what was on my Mind to write, the Constable came again; bringing with him his Fellow-Constable. This was a brisk; genteel young Man, a Shopkeeper in the Town, whose Name was *Cherry*. They saluted me Civilly, and told me they were come to have me before the Warden. This put an End to my Writing; which I put into my Pocket, and went along with them.

Being come to the Warden's, He asked me again the same Questions he had asked me before: To which I gave him the like Answers. Then he told me the Penalty I had incurred: which, he said, was either to pay so much Money; or lye so many Hours in the Stocks: and asked me which I would chuse. I reply'd, I shall not chuse either. And said I, I have told thee

1660. thee already that I have no Money : though if  
 W I had, I could not so far Acknowledge my self  
 an Offender, as to pay any. But as to lying in  
 the Stocks, I am in thy Power, to do unto me,  
 what it shall please the Lord to suffer thee.

When he heard that, he paused awhile ; and  
 then told me, *He considered that I was but a  
 Young Man, and might not, perhaps, understand  
 the danger I had brought myself into : and therefore  
 he would not use the Severity of the Law upon me ;  
 but in hopes that I would be wiser hereafter, he  
 would pass by this Offence, and discharge me.*

Then putting on a Countenance of the great-  
 est Gravity, he said to me ; *But, young Man, I  
 would have you know, That you have not only bro-  
 ken the Law of the Land ! but the Law of God al-  
 so : and therefore you ought to ask Him Forgiveness ;  
 for you have highly offended Him.* That, said I,  
 I would most willingly do ; if I were sensible  
 that, in this Case, I had offended Him, by  
 breaking any Law of His. *Why,* said he, *do you  
 question that ?* Yes, truly, said I : for I do not  
 know, that any Law of God doth forbid me to  
 Ride on this Day.

*No !* said he, *that's strange ! Where, I wonder,  
 were you Bred ? You can read : Can't you ?* Yes,  
 said I, that I can. *Don't you read then,* said he,  
*the Commandment ; Remember the Sabbath  
 Day, to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou La-  
 bour, and do all thy Work : but the Seventh  
 Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God ; in it  
 thou shalt not do any Work.* Yes, replied I, I  
 have both read it often, and remember it very  
 well.



well. But that Command was given to the <sup>1660.</sup> Jews, not to Christians; and this is not that Day: for that was the Seventh Day; but this is the First. *How!* said he, *Do you know the Days of the Week no better? you had need then be better taught.*

Here the younger Constable (whose Name was Cherry) interposing, said, *Mr. Warden, the Gentleman is in the right as to that: for this is the First Day of the Week; and not the Seventh.*

This the old Warden took in dudgeon; and looking severely on the Constable, said, *What! do you take upon you to teach me! I'll have you know, I will not be taught by you. As you please for that, Sir,* said the Constable; *but I am sure you are mistaken in this Point: for Saturday, I know, is the Seventh Day; and you know Yesterday was Saturday.*

This made the Warden hot and testy, and put him almost out of all Patience: so that I fear'd it would have come to a downright Quarrel betwixt them: for both were confident, and neither would yield. And so earnestly were they engaged in the Contest, that there was no room for me to put in a Word between them.


At length the Old Man, having talk't himself out of Wind, stood still a while, as it were to take Breath; and then bethinking himself of me, he turn'd to me, and said, *You are discharged, and may take your Liberty to go about your Occasions.* But, said I, I desire my Horse may be discharged too, else I know not how to go. *Ay, Ay,* said he; *you shall have your Horse: and*

1660. turning to the other Constable, (who had not  
 W offended him) he said, *Go, see that his Horse be  
 delivered to him.*

Away thereupon went I, with that Constable; leaving the Old Warden, and the Young Constable to compose their Difference, as they could. Being come to the Inn, the Constable called for my Horse to be brought out. Which done, I immediately Mounted, and began to set forward. But the Hostler, not knowing the Condition of my Pocket, said modestly to me, *Sir, Don't you forget to pay for your Horse's standing?* No truly, said I, I don't forget it; but I have no Money to pay it with: and so I told the Warden before. *Well, hold you your Tongue,* said the Constable to the Hostler; *I'll see you paid.* Then opening the Gate, they let me out, the Constable wishing me a good Journey: and through the Town I rode, without further Molestation; though it was as much Sabbath (I thought) when I went out, as it was when I came in.

A secret Joy arose in me, as I rode on the Way; for that I had been preserved from Doing, or Saying any thing, which might give the Adversaries of TRUTH Advantage against it, or the *Friends* of it: and Praises sprang in my thankful Heart to the Lord, my Preserver.

It added also not a little to my Joy, that I felt the Lord near unto me, by His Witness in my Heart, to Check and Warn me; and my Spirit was so far subjected to Him, as readily to  
 take

take Warning, and stop at His Check: An Instance of both that very Morning I had. 1660. 

For as I rode between *Reading* and *Maidenhead*, I saw lying in my way the Scabbard of an Hanger; which, having lost its Hook, had slipped off, I suppose, and drop't from the Side of the Wearer: and it had in it a pair of Knives, whose Hafts being inlaid with Silver, seemed to be of some Value. I alighted, and took it up; and clapping it between my Thigh and the Saddle, rode on a little way: but I quickly found it too heavy for me; and the Reprover in me soon began to Check. The Word arose in me, *What hast thou to do with that? Doth it belong to thee?* I felt I had done amiss in Taking it: wherefore I turned back to the Place where it lay; and laid it down where I found it. And when afterwards I was stop't, and seized on at *Maidenhead*; I saw there was a Providence in not bringing it with me: which, if it should have been found (as it needs must) under my Coat, when I came to be Unhorsed, might have raised some evil Suspicion, or sinister Thoughts concerning me.

The Stop I met with at *Maidenhead*, had spent me so much time, that when I came to *Isaac Penington's*, the Meeting there was half over: Which gave them Occasion, after Meeting, to enquire of me, If any thing had befallen me on the Way, which had caused me to come so late. Whereupon I related to them what Exercise I had met with, and how the Lord had helped me through it: Which when

1660. they had heard, they Rejoyced with me, and  
 for my sake.

Great was the Love, and manifold the Kindnesses, which I received from these my worthy Friends (*Isaac and Mary Penington*) while I abode in their Family. They were indeed as affectionate Parents, and tender Nurses to me, in this time of my *Religious Childhood*. For besides their weighty and seasonable Counsels, and Exemplary Conversations; they furnished me with Means to go to the other Meetings of Friends in that Country, when the Meeting was not in their own House. And indeed, the time I staid with them was so well spent, that it not only yielded great Satisfaction to my Mind: but turned, in good Measure to my spiritual Advantage in the TRUTH.

But that I might not, on the one hand, bear too hard upon my Friends; nor on the other hand, forget the House of Thraldom: after I had staid with them some Six or Seven Weeks (from the Time called *Easter*, to the Time called *Whitsuntide*) I took my leave of them, to depart home; intending to walk to *Wiccomb* in one Day, and from thence home in another.

That Day that I came Home I did not see my Father, nor until Noon the next Day; when I went into the Parlour, where he was, to take my usual Place at Dinner.

As soon as I came in, I observed, by my Father's Countenance, that my Hat was still an Offence to him: but when I was sitten down, and before I had eaten any thing, he made me under-

understand it more fully, by saying to me (but <sup>1660.</sup> in a milder Tone, than he had formerly used to speak to me in) *If you cannot content your self to come to Dinner without your Hive on your Head (so he called my Hat) pray Rise, and go take your Dinner somewhere else.*

Upon those Words I arose from the Table, and leaving the Room, went into the Kitchen; where I staid till the Servants went to Dinner, and then sat down very contentedly with them. Yet I suppose my Father might intend that I should have gone into some other Room, and there have eaten by my self. But I chose rather to Eat with the Servants; and did so, from thenceforward, so long as He and I lived together. And from this time he rather chose, as I thought, to avoid seeing me; than to renew the Quarrel about my Hat.

My Sisters, mean while observing my Wariness in Words and Behaviour, and being satisfied, I suppose, that I acted upon a *Principle of Religion and Conscience*, carried themselves very kindly to me; and did what they could to mitigate my Father's Displeasure against me. So that I now enjoyed much more quiet at Home; and took more Liberty to go Abroad amongst my Friends, than I had done (or could do) before. And having informed my self, where any Meetings of *Friends* were holden, within a reasonable Distance from me, I resorted to them.

At first I went to a Town called *Haddenham* in *Buckinghamshire*, Five Miles from my Father's;

1660. ther's; where, at the House of one *Belfon*, a few (who were called *Quakers*) did meet sometimes on a *First Day* of the Week: but I found little Satisfaction there. Afterwards, upon further Enquiry, I understood there was a settled Meeting at a little Village called *Meadle* (about Four long Miles from me) in the House of one *John White* (which is continued there still:) and to that thenceforward I constantly went, while I abode in that Country, and was able. Many a fore Days Travel have I had thither and back again; being commonly, in the Winter time (how fair soever the Weather was over head) wet up to the Ancles at least: yet through the Goodness of the Lord to me, I was preserved in Health.

A little Meeting also there was, on the Fourth Day of the Week, at a Town called *Bledlow* (two Miles from me) in the House of one *Thomas Saunders*, who *Professed* the Truth; But his Wife, whose Name was *Damaris*, did Possess it (she being a Woman of great Sincerity, and lively Sense:) and to that Meeting also I usually went.

But though I took this Liberty for the Service of GOD, that I might Worship Him in the Assemblies of his People; yet did I not use it upon other Occasions: but spent my Time, on other Days, for the most part in my Chamber; in Retiredness of Mind, waiting on the LORD. And the LORD was graciously pleased to visit me, by his quickening Spirit and Life; so that I came to feel the Operation of His Power

Power in my Heart, working out that which 1660. was contrary to his Will, and giving me, in *W* measure, Dominion over it.

And as my Spirit was kept in a due Subjection to this *Divine Power*, I grew into a nearer Acquaintance with the LORD; and the LORD vouchsafed to speak unto me, in the Inward of my Soul, and to open my Understanding in his Fear, to receive *Counsel* from Him: so that I not only, at sometimes, heard his Voice, but could distinguish his Voice from the Voice of the Enemy.

As thus I daily waited on the LORD, a weighty and unusual Exercise came upon me; which bowed my Spirit very low before the LORD. I had seen, in the *Light of the Lord*, the horrible Guilt of those deceitful *priests*, of divers Sorts and Denominations, who made a Trade of PREACHING; and for filthy Lucre sake held the People always Learning: yet so taught them, as that, by their Teaching and Ministry, they were never able to come to the Knowledge (much less to the Acknowledgment) of the Truth: For as they themselves hated the Light, because their own Deeds were Evil: so by Reviling, Reproaching, and Blaspheming the TRUE LIGHT, (wherein every Man that cometh into the World is Enlightened, John 1. 9.) they begat in the People a Dis-esteem of the Light; and laboured (as much as in them lay) to keep their Hearers in the Darknes, that they might not be turned to the Light in themselves, lest by the Light they should discover their Wicked-

1660. ness of these their *Deceitful Teachers*; and turn  
 from them.

Against this Practice of these *false Teachers*, the Zeal of the LORD, had flamed in my Breast for some time: And now the Burthen of the Word of the LORD against them fell heavy upon me, with Command to proclaim His Controversie against them.

Fain would I have been excused from this Service, which I judged too heavy for me: Wherefore I besought the Lord to take this Weight from off me (who was, in every respect, but young;) and lay it upon some other of his Servants (of whom he had many) who were much more able and fit for it. But the Lord would not be intreated: but continued the Burden upon me, with greater weight; requiring *Obedience* from me, and promising to assist me therein. Whereupon I arose from my Bed, and in the Fear and Dread of the Lord, committed to Writing what He, in the Motion of his *Divine Spirit*, dictated to me to write: When I had done it, though the Sharpness of the Message therein delivered, was hard to my Nature to be the Publisher of; yet I found Acceptance with the Lord, in my Obedience to his Will, and his Peace filled my Heart. As soon as I could, I communicated to my Friends what I had written: and it was Printed in the Year 1669. in one Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *An Alarm to the PRIESTS*; or, *A Message from Heaven, to forewarn them*, &c.

Some



Some time after the Publishing of this Paper, 1669. having Occasion to go to *London*, I went to visit *George Fox* the younger, who (with another Friend) was then a Prisoner in a *Messenger's* Hands. I had never seen him, nor he me before; yet this Paper lying on the Table before him, he (pointing to it) asked me, *If I was the Person that writ it?* I told him, I was. *It's much* (said the other Friend) *that they bear it. It is* (replied he) *their Portion: and they must bear it.*

While I was then in *London*, I went to a little Meeting of Friends, which was then held in the House of one *Humphry Bache* a Goldsmith, at the Sign of the Snail in *Tower-street*. It was then a very troublesome Time, not from the Government, but from the Rabble of Boys and rude People, who upon the Turn of the Times (at the Return of the KING) took Liberty to be very abusive.

When the Meeting ended, a pretty Number of these unruly Folk were got together at the Door, ready to receive the Friends as they came forth, not only with evil Words, but with Blows; which I saw they bestowed freely on some of them that were gone out before me, and expected I should have my Share of, when I came amongst them. But quite contrary to my Expectation, when I came out, they said one to another, *Let him alone; Don't meddle with him: he is no Quaker I'll warrant you.*

This struck me, and was worse to me, than if they had laid their Fists on me, as they did  
on

1660. on others. I was troubled to think what the Matter was, or what these Rude People saw in me, that made them not take me for a *Quaker*. And upon a close Examination of my self, with respect to my Habit and Deportment, I could not find any thing to place it on; but that I had then on my Head a large *Mountier-Cap* of Black Velvet, the Skirt of which being turned up in Folds, looked (it seems) somewhat above the then Common Garb of a *Quaker*: and this put me out of Conceit with my Cap.

I came, at this time, to *London* from *Isaac Penington's*, and thither I went again, in my way Home: and while I staid there, amongst other Friends who came thither, *Thomas Loe* of *Oxford* was one. A faithful and diligent Labourer he was, in the Work of the Lord; and an excellent Ministerial Gift he had. And I, in my Zeal for Truth, being very desirous that my Neighbours might have the Opportunity of hearing the Gospel, the glad Tidings of Salvation, livingly and powerfully preached among them; entred into Communication with him about it: offering to procure some convenient Place, in the Town where I lived, for a Meeting to be held, and to invite my Neighbours to it; if he could give me any Ground to expect his Company at it. He told me he was not at his own Command, but at the Lord's; and he knew not how he might dispose of him: but wist'd me, if I found, when I was come home, that the thing continued with Weight upon my Mind, and that I could get a fit Place for a Meeting; I would

would advertize him of it by a few Lines, direct-1660.  
ed to him in Oxford (whither he was then going) and he might then let me know how his Freedom stood in that Matter.

When therefore I was come home, and had treated with a Neighbour for a Place to have a Meeting in, I wrote to my Friend *Thomas Loe*, to acquaint him, that I had procured a Place for a Meeting, and would invite Company to it; if he would fix the Time, and give me some Ground to hope, that he would be at it.

This Letter I sent by a Neighbour to *Thame*, to be given to a Dyer of *Oxford*, who constantly kept *Thame-Market*; with whom I was pretty well acquainted, having sometimes formerly used him, not only in his way of Trade, but to carry Letters between my Brother and me, when he was a *Student* in that *University*: for which he was always paid; and had been so careful in the Delivery, that our Letters had always gone safe, until now. But this time (*Providence* so ordering, or at least for my Tryal, permitting it) this Letter of mine, instead of being delivered according to its Direction, was seized, and carried (as I was told) to the Lord *Faulkland*, who was then called *Lord-Lieutenant* of that County.

The Occasion of this Stopping of Letters at that time, was that mad Prank, of those infatuated *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, who from their Meeting-House in *Coleman-Street, London*, breaking forth in Arms, (under the Command of their

1660. their Chieftain *Venner*) made an Insurrection in the City; on Pretence of setting up the *Kingdom of Jesus*; who (it is said) they expected would come down from Heaven, to be their Leader. So little understood they the *Nature of his Kingdom*; though he himself had declared it was not of this World.

The KING, a little before his Arrival in England, had, by his *Declaration* from Breda, given Assurance of Liberty to *Tender Consciences*; and that no Man should be disquieted, or called in Question for *Differences of Opinion* in Matters of *Religion*, who do not disturb the *Peace of the Kingdom*: Upon this Assurance *Dissenters* of all sorts relied, and held themselves secure. But now, by this Frantick Action of a few hot-brain'd Men, the King was, by some, holden Discharged from this his ROYAL WORD and PROMISE, in his foregoing *Declaration* publicly given. And hereupon Letters were intercepted and broken open; for Discovery of suspected Plots, and Designs against the Government: and not only *Dissenters Meetings*, of all sorts, without Distinction, were disturbed; but very many were Imprisoned, in most Parts, throughout the Nation; and great Search there was, in all Countries, for suspected Persons, who, if not found at Meetings, were fetch'd in from their own Houses.


The Lord Lieutenant (so called) of *Oxfordshire* had on this Occasion taken *Thomas Lee*, and many other of our Friends, at a Meeting; and sent them Prisoners to *Oxford-Castle*, just before my Letter

Letter was brought to his Hand, wherein I 1660. had invited *Thomas Loe* to a Meeting: and he, putting the worst Construction upon it, as if I (a poor Simple Lad) had intended a *Seditious Meeting*, in order to raise *Rebellion*, ordered two of the *Deputy Lieutenants*, who lived nearest to me, to send a Party of Horse to fetch me in.

Accordingly, while I (wholly ignorant of what had passed at *Oxford*) was in daily Expectation of an agreeable Answer to my Letter; came a Party of Horse one Morning to my Father's Gate, and asked for me.

It so fell out, that my Father was at that time from home (I think in *London*) whereupon he that Commanded the Party alighted, and came in. My eldest Sister, hearing the Noise of Soldiers, came hastily up into my Chamber, and told me there were Soldiers below, who enquired for me. I forthwith went down to them; and found the Commander was a *Barber* of *Thame*, and one who had always been my *Barber* till I was a *Quaker*. His Name was *Whately*: a bold, brisk Fellow.

I asked him, what his Business was with me? He told me, I must go with him. I demanded to see his Warrant: He laid his Hand on his Sword, and said, *That was his Warrant*. I told him, Though that was not a legal Warrant; yet I would not dispute it: but was ready to bear Injuries. He told me, *He could not help it; he was commanded to bring me forthwith before the Deputy Lieutenants*: and therefore desired

1660. fired me to order an Horſe to be got ready,  becauſe he was in haſte. I let him know, I had no Horſe of my own; and would not meddle with any of my Father's Horſes, in his Abſence eſpecially: and that therefore, if he would have me with him, he muſt carry me as he could.

He thereupon taking my Siſter aſide, told her he found I was reſolute; and his Orders were peremptory: wherefore he deſired that ſhe would give Order for an Horſe to be made ready for me; for otherwiſe he ſhould be forced to mount me behind a Trooper, which would be very unſuitable for me, and which he was very unwilling to do. She thereupon ordered an Horſe to be got ready, upon which, when I had taken Leave of my Siſters, I mounted, and went off: not knowing whither he intended to carry me.

He had Orders, it ſeems, to take ſome others alſo, in a Neighbouring Village; whoſe Names he had, but their Houſes he did not know. Wherefore, as we rode, he asked me, If I knew ſuch and ſuch Men (whom he named) and where they lived: and when he underſtood that I knew them, he deſired me to ſhew him their Houſes. No, ſaid I, I ſcorn to be an Informer againſt my Neighbours, to bring them into Trouble. He thereupon, riding to and fro, found, by Enquiry, moſt of their Houſes: but, as it happened, found none of them at Home; at which I was glad.

At length he brought me to the House of 1660. one called Esquire Clark of *Weston* by *Thame*; who being afterwards Knighted, was called Sir *John Clark*: a jolly Man, too much addicted to Drinking in *soberer* Times; but was now grown more *Licentious* that way, as the Times did now more favour *Debauchery*. He and I had known one another for some Years; though not very intimately: having met sometimes at the Lord *Wenman's* Table.

This Clark was one of the Deputy-Lieutenants, whom I was to be brought before. And he had gotten another thither, to joyn with him in tendering me the Oaths; whom I knew only by Name and Character: he was called Esquire *Kronls* of *Grays* by *Henly*; and reputed a Man of better Morals, than the other.

I was brought into the Hall, and kept there. And as *Quakers* were not so common then, as they now are (and indeed even yet, the more is the pity, they are not common in that Part of the Country :) I was made a Spectacle, and Gazing-stock to the Family; and by divers I was diversly set upon. Some spake to me courteously, with Appearance of Compassion; Others ruggedly, with evident Tokens of Wrath and Scorn. But though I gave them the Hearing of what they said (which I could not well avoid) yet I said little to them: but, keeping my Mind as well retired as I could, I breathed to the Lord for Help and Strength from him, to bear me up, and carry me through this Tryal: that I might not sink under it, or be prevailed

1660, vailed on by any Means, fair or foul, to do any thing that might dishonour, or displease my G.O.D.

At length came forth the Justices themselves (for so they were, as well as Lieutenants) and after they had saluted me, they discoursed with me pretty familiarly: and though *Clark* would sometimes be a little jocular and waggish (which was somewhat natural to him) yet *Knowls* treated me very civilly; not seeming to take any Offence at my not standing bare before him. And when a young Priest (who, as I understood, was Chaplain in the Family) took upon him pragmatically to reprove me for standing with my Hat on before the Magistrates; and snatch'd my Cap from of my Head: *Knowls* in a pleasant Manner corrected him, telling him he mistook himself, in taking a Cap for a Hat (for mine was a *Mountier-Cap*) and bid him give it me again; which he (though unwillingly) doing, I forthwith put it on my Head again, and thenceforward none meddled with me about it.

Then they began to Examine me, putting divers Questions to me, relating to the present Disturbances in the Nation; occasioned by the late foolish Insurrection, of those frantick *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. To all which I readily Answered, according to the Simplicity of my Heart, and Innocency of my Hands: for I had neither done, nor thought any Evil against the Government.

But



But they endeavoured to affright me, with 1660. Threats of Danger; telling me (with *Innuendo's*) that for all my Pretence of Innocency, there was high Matter against me, which, if I would stand out, would be brought forth, and that under my own Hand. I knew not what they meant by this: but I knew my Innocency, and kept to it.

At length, when they saw I regarded not their Threats in general, they asked me, *If I knew one Thomas Loe, and had written of late to him.* I then remembred my Letter, which till then I had not thought of, and thereupon frankly told them, That I did both know *Thomas Loe*, and had lately written to him: but that as I knew I had written no Hurt: so I did not fear any Danger from that Letter. They shook their Heads, and said, *It was dangerous to Write Letters to appoint Meetings in such troublesome Times.*

They added, *That by appointing a Meeting, and endeavouring to gather a Concourse of People together, in such a Juncture especially as this was, I had rendered my self a dangerous Person. And therefore they could do no less, than Tender me the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy: which therefore they required me to take.*

I told them, If I could take any Oath at all, I would take the Oath of *Allegiance*: for I owed Allegiance to the KING. But I durst not take any Oath, because my Lord and Master JESUS CHRIST, had commanded me not to *Swear at all*: and if I brake his Command,

H

I should

1660. I should thereby both dishonour and displease him.

Hereupon they undertook to reason with me; and used many Words to perswade me, That *that Command of Christ related only to common and prophane Swearing, not to Swearing before a Magistrate.* I heard them, and saw the Weakness of their Arguings; but did not return them any Answer: for I found my present Business was not to dispute, but to suffer; and that it was not safe for me (in this my weak and Childish State especially) to enter into Reasonings with sharp, quick, witty and learned Men, lest I might thereby hurt both the Cause of Truth (which I was to bear Witness to) and my self: Therefore I chose rather to be a Fool, and let them triumph over me; than by my Weakness give them Advantage to triumph over the Truth. And my Spirit being closely exercised, in a deep travel towards the Lord, I earnestly begged of him, that he would be pleased to keep me faithful to the Testimony he had committed to me; and not suffer me to be taken in any of the Snares, which the Enemy laid for me. And, blessed be his holy Name, He heard my Cries, and preserved me out of them.

When the Justices saw they could not bow me to their Wills, they told me they must send me to Prison. I told them, I was contented to suffer whatsoever the Lord should suffer them to inflict upon me. Whereupon they withdrew into the Parlour, to consult together what

to

to do with me: leaving me mean while to be <sup>1660</sup>gazed on in the Hall.

After a pretty long Stay, they came forth to me again, with great shew of Kindness; telling me, They were *very unwilling to send me to Goal; but would be as favourable to me, as possibly they could: and that, if I would take the Oaths, they would pass by all the other Matter, which they had against me.* I told them, I knew they could not justly have any thing against me: for I had neither done, nor intended any thing, against the Government, or against them. And as to the Oaths, I assured them, that my refusing them was merely Matter of Conscience to me: and that I durst not take any Oath whatsoever, if it were to save my Life.

When they heard this, they left me again; and went and signed a *Mittimus* to send me to Prison at Oxford, and charged one of the Troopers that brought me thither (who was one of the newly raised *Militia-Troop*) to convey me safe to Oxford. But before we departed, they called the Trooper aside, and gave him private Instructions, what he should do with me; which I knew nothing of till I came thither; but expected I should go directly to the Castle.

It was almost dark when we took Horse; and we had about Nine or Ten Miles to ride, the Weather thick and cold (for it was about the beginning of the *Twelfth Month*) and I had no Boots; being snatch'd away from home on a suddain: which made me not care to ride very fast. And my Guard, who was a Trades-

1660. man in *Thame*, having Confidence in me, that I would not give him the slip, jogged on, without heeding how I followed him.

When I was gone about a Mile on the Way, I overtook my Father's Man; who (without my Knowledge) had followed me, at a distance, to *Weston*; and waited there, abroad in the Stables, till he understood, by some of the Servants, that I was to go to *Oxford*; and then ran before, resolving not to leave me, till he saw what they would do with me.

I would have had him return home; but he desired me not to send him back: but let him run on, till I came to *Oxford*. I considered that it was a Token of the Fellow's affectionate Kindness to me; and that possibly I might send my Horse home by him: and thereupon, stopping my Horse, I bid him, if he would go on, Get up behind me. He modestly refused, telling me, *He could run, as fast as I rid*. But when I had told him, If he would not ride, he should not go forward; he, rather than leave me, leap'd up behind me, and on we went.

But he was not willing I should have gone at all. He had a great Cudgel in his Hand, and a strong Arm, to use it; and being a stout Fellow, he had a great Mind to Fight the Trooper, and Rescue me. Wherefore he desired me to turn my Horse, and and ride off. And if the Trooper offered to pursue, leave him to deal with him.

I check'd

I check'd him sharply for that, and charged 1660. him to be quiet, and not think hardly of the poor Trooper; who could do no other, nor less than he did: and who, though he had an ill Journey, in going with me, carried himself civilly to me. I told him also, that I had no need to fly; for I had done nothing that would bring Guilt, or Fear upon me: neither did I go with an ill Will: and this quieted the Man. So on we went; but were so far cast behind the Trooper, that we had lost both Sight and Hearing of him; and I was fain to mend my Pace, to get up to him again.

We came pretty late into *Oxford*, on the Seventh Day of the Week, which was the Market Day; and contrary to my Expectation (which was to have been carried to the Castle) my Trooper stop't in the *High-Street*; and calling at a Shop, asked for the Master of the House: who coming to the Door, he delivered to him the *Matrimus*, and with it a Letter from the Deputy-Lieutenants (or one of them;) which when he had read, he asked where the Prisoner was. Whereupon the Soldier, pointing to me, he desired me to alight and come in: which when I did, he received me civilly.

The Trooper, being discharged of his Prisoner, marched back; and my Father's Man, seeing me settled in better Quarters than he expected, mounted my Horse, and went off with him.

I did not presently understand the Quality of my Keeper: but I found him a genteel,

1660. courteous Man, by Trade a *Linnen-Draper*: and (as I afterwards understood) he was the *City-Marshall*, had a Command in the County Troop, and was a Person of good Reputé in the Place; his Name was — *Galloway*.

Whether I was committed to him, out of Regard to my Father; that I might not be thrust into a Common Goal: or out of a Politick Design, to keep me from the Conversation of my Friends, in hopes that I might be drawn to abandon this Profession, which I had but lately taken up; I do not know. But this I know, that (though I wanted no civil Treatment, nor kind Accommodations, where I was) yet, after once I understood, that many *Friends* were Prisoners in the Castle, and amongst the rest, *Thomas Loe*: I had much rather have been among them there, with all the Inconveniences they underwent; than where I was, with the best Entertainment. But this was my present Lot: and therefore with this I endeavour'd to be content.

It was quickly known in the City, that a *Quaker* was brought in Prisoner, and committed to the Marshall. Whereupon (the Men-*Friends* being generally Prisoners already in the Castle) some of the Women-*Friends* came to enquire after me and to visit me; as *Silas Norton's* Wife, and *Thomas Loe's* Wife (who were Sisters) and another Woman-*Friend*, who lived in the same Street where I was; whose Husband was not a *Quaker*, but kindly affected towards them: a *Baker* by Trade, and his Name (as I remember) *Rylant*.

By

By some of these an Account was soon given 1660. to the Friends, who were Prisoners in the Castle, of my being taken up, and brought Prisoner to the Marshall's. Whereupon it pleased the Lord, to move on the Heart of my dear Friend *Thomas Loe*, to salute me with a very tender and affectionate Letter, in the following Terms.

My Beloved FRIEND,

**I**N the Truth, and Love of the Lord Jesus, by which Life and Salvation is revealed in the Saints, is my dear Love unto thee, and in much Tenderneß do I Salute thee. And dear Heart, a Time of Tryal God hath permitted to come upon us, to try our Faith and Love to Him: and this will work for the good of them, that through Patience endure to the End. And I believe G O D will be glorified through our Sufferings, and His Name will be exalted in the Patience, and Long-suffering of his Chosen. When I heard that thou wast called into this Tryal, with the Servants of the Most High, to give thy Testimony to the Truth of what we have believed; it came into my Heart to write unto thee, and to greet thee with the Embraces of the Power of an Endless Life: where our Faith stands, and unity is felt with the Saints for ever. Well, my dear Friend, let us live in the pure Counsel of the Lord, and dwell in his Strength; which gives us Power, and Sufficiency to endure all things, for his Name's sake: and then our Crown and Reward will

1660. *be with the Lord for ever; and the Blessings of his Heavenly Kingdom will be our Portion. Oh, dear Heart, let us give up all freely into the Will of God; that God may be glorified by us, and we comforted together in the Lord Jesus: which is the Desire of my Soul, who am*

Thy dear and loving Friend in the  
Eternal Truth,

THOMAS LOE.

*We are more than Forty here, which suffer innocently, for the Testimony of a good Conscience; because we cannot Swear, and break Christ's Commands: And we are all well; and the Blessings, and Presence of God is with us. Friends here Salute thee. Farewell.*

*The Power and the Wisdom of the Lord God be with thee, Amen.*

Greatly was my Spirit refreshed, and my Heart gladdened, at the Reading of this Consolating Letter from my Friend: and my Soul blessed the Lord for his Love, and tender Goodness to me, in moving his Servant to write thus unto me.

But I had Cause soon after to double, and redouble my thankful Acknowledgment to the Lord my God; who put it into the Heart of my dear Friend *Isaac Penington* also, to visit me with some encouraging Lines, from *Alesbury-Goal*, where he was then a Prisoner; and from whence (having heard that I was carried Prisoner to *Oxford*) he thus saluted me. . Dear



1660.

Dear THOMAS,

**G**REAT hath been the Lord's Goodness to thee, in Calling thee out of that Path of Vanity and Death, wherein thou wast running towards Destruction: to give thee a living Name, and an Inheritance of Life among his People: which certainly will be the End of thy Faith in Him, and Obedience to Him. And let it not be a light thing in thine Eyes, that He now accounteth thee worthy to suffer among his choice Lambs, that He might make thy Crown weightier, and thy Inheritance the fuller. O that that Eye and Heart may be kept open in thee, which knoweth the Value of these things! And that thou mayst be kept close to the Feeling of the Life, that thou mayst be fresh in thy Spirit in the midst of thy Sufferings, and mayst reap the Benefit of them; finding that pared off thereby, which hindereth the Bubblings of the Everlasting Springs, and maketh unfit for the breaking forth, and Enjoyment of the pure Power! This is the brief Salutation of my dear Love to thee, which desireth thy Strength, and Settlement in the Power; and the utter weakning of thee as to self. My dear Love is to thee, with dear Thomas Goodyare, and the rest of Imprisoned Friends. I remain

Thine in the Truth, to which the  
Lord my God preserve me  
Single and Faithful.

From Alebury-Goal,  
14th, of 12th Mo.  
1660.

I. P.

Though

1661. Though these Epistolary Visits in the Love of God, were very Comfortable, and Confirming to me; and my Heart was thankful to the Lord for them: yet I honed after personal Conversation with Friends; and it was hard, I thought, that there should be so many faithful Servants of God so near me: yet I should not be permitted to come at them, to enjoy their Company, and reap both the Pleasure and Benefit of their sweet Society.

For although my Marshall-Keeper was very kind to me, and allowed me the Liberty of his House; yet he was not willing I should be seen abroad: the rather, perhaps, because he understood I had been pretty well known in that City. Yet once the Friendly *Baker* got him to let me step over to his House; and once (and but once) I prevailed with him, to let me visit my Friends in the Castle; but it was with these Conditions, That I should not go forth till it was dark; That I would muffle my self up in my Cloak; and that I would not stay out late. All which I punctually observed.

When I came thither, though there were many Friends Prisoners, I scarce knew one of them by Face, except *Thomas Loe*; whom I had once seen at *Isaac Penington's*: Nor did any of them know me; though they had generally heard, that such a Young Man as I was Convinced of the Truth, and come among Friends.

Our Salutation to each other was very Grave and Solemn; nor did we entertain one another with much Talk, or with common Discourses: but

but most of the little Time I had with them 1667. was spent in a silent Retiredness of Spirit, waiting upon the Lord. Yet, before we parted, we imparted one to another some of the Exercises we had gone through: and they seeming willing to understand the Ground, and Manner of my Commitment, I gave them a brief Account thereof; letting *Thomas Loe* more particularly know, that I had directed a Letter to him, which, having fallen into the Hand of the Lord Lieutenant, was (so far as I could learn) the immediate Cause of my being taken up.

Having staid with them as long as my limited time would permit (which I thought was but very short;) that I might keep Touch with my Keeper, and come home in due time, I took leave of my Friends there, and with mutual Embraces parting, returned to my (in some sense more easie, but in others less easie) Prison; where, after this, I staid not long before I was brought back to my Father's House.

For after my Father was come home (who, as I observed before, was from home when I was taken) he applied himself to those Justices that had committed me; and (not having disoblighed them when he was in Office) easily obtained to have me sent home: which between him and them was thus contrived.

There was about this time a general Muster, and Training of the *Militia-Forces* at *Oxford*: whither, on that Occasion, came the Lord-Lieutenant, and the Deputy-Lieutenants of the County

1661. County; of which Number, they who Committed me were two.

When they had been a while together, and the Marshall with them; he stept suddainly in, and in haste told me, *I must get ready quickly to go out of Town; and that a Soldier would come by and by to go with me.* This said, he hastned to them again; not giving me any Intimation, how I was to go, or whither.

I needed not much time to get ready in; but I was uneasy in thinking what the Friends of the Town would think of this my suddain, and private Removal: and I feared, lest any Report should be raised, that I had purchased my Liberty by an Unfaithful Compliance. Wherefore I was in care how to speak with some Friend about it; and that friendly Baker, whose Wife was a Friend, living on the other side of the Street, at a little Distance: I went out at a back Door, intending to step over the Way to their House; and return immediately.

It so fell out, that some of the Lieutenants (of whom Esq; Clark, who Committed me, was one) were standing in a Balcony at a great Inn or Tavern, just over the Place where I was to go by: and he, spying me, called out to the Soldiers (who stood thick below in the Street) to stop me. They, being generally Gentlemens Servants, and many of them knowing me, did civilly forbear to lay hold on me, but calling modestly after me, said, *Stay, Sir, stay: pray come back.* I heard, but was not willing to hear; therefore rather mended my Pace, that

that I might have got within the Door. But <sup>1661.</sup> he calling earnestly after me, and charging them to stop me; some of them were fain to run, and laying hold on me, before I could open the Door, brought me back to my Place again.

Being thus disappointed, I took a Pen and Ink, and wrote a few Lines; which I sealed up, and gave to the Apprentice in the Shop (who had carried himself handsomely to me) and desired him to deliver it to that Friend (who was their Neighbour) which he promised to do.

By that time I had done this, came the Soldier, that was appointed to conduct me out of Town. I knew the Man; for he lived within a Mile of me, being, through Poverty reduced to keep an Ale-House: but he had lived in better Fashion, having kept an Inn at *Thame*; and by that means knew how to behave himself civilly, and did so to me.

He told me, he was ordered to wait on me to *Whately*; and to tarry there at such an Inn, till Esq; *Clark* came thither: who would then take me home with him, in his Coach. Accordingly to *Whately* we walked (which is from *Oxford* some four or five Miles) and long we had not been there, before *Clark*, and a great Company of rude Men came in.

He alighted, and stay'd a while to eat and drink (though he came but from *Oxford*.) and invited me to eat with him; but I (though I had need enough) refused it; for indeed their  
Con-

1661. Conversation was a Burthen to my Life; and  
 W made me often think of, and pity good *Lor.*

He seem'd, at that time, to be in a sort of mix't Temper, between Pleasantness and Sourness. He would sometimes Joke (which was natural to him) and cast out a jesting Flurt at me: but he would rail maliciously against the *Quakers*. If (said he to me) *the King would authorize me to do it, I would not leave a Quaker alive in England, except you. I would make no more,* added he, *to set my Pistol to their Ears, and shoot them through the Head, than I would to kill a Dog.* I told him, I was sorry he had so ill an Opinion of the *Quakers*: but I was glad he had no Cause for it; and I hoped he would be of a better Mind.

I had in my Hand a little Walking-Stick, with a Head on it; which he commended, and took out of my Hand to look on it: but I saw his Invention was, to search it, whether it had a Tuck in it; for he tryed to have drawn the Head; but when he found it was fast, he returned it to me.

He told me *I should ride with him to his House in his Coach*; which was nothing pleasant to me: for I had rather have gone on Foot (as bad as the Ways were) that I might have been out of his Company. Wherefore I took no notice of any Kindness in the Offer: but only Answered, I was at his Disposal; not mine own.

But when we were ready to go, the Marshall came to me, and told me, *If I pleased I should ride*

ride his Horse; and he would go in the Coach with 1661.  
Mr. Clark. I was glad of the Offer, and only told him, he should take out his Pistols then; for I would not ride with them. He took them out, and laid them in the Coach by him: and away we went.

It was a very fine Beast that I was set on; by much the best in the Company. But tho' she was very tall, yet the Ways being very foul, I found it needful, as soon as I was out of Town, to alight, and take up the Stirrups. Mean while, they driving hard on, I was so far behind, that being at length missed by the Company, a Soldier was sent back to look after me.

As soon as I had fitted my Stirrups, and was Remounted, I gave the Rein to my Mare; which being Couragious and Nimble (and impatient of Delay) made great Speed to recover the Company. And in a Narrow Passage, the Soldier (who was my Barber, that had fetch'd me from home) and I met upon so brisk a Gallop; that we had enough to do, on either Side, to take up our Horses, and avoid a Brush.

When we were come to *Weston*, where Esq; Clark lived; he took the Marshall, and some others with him into the Parlour: but I was left in the Hall, to be exposed a second time, for the Family to gaze on.


At length himself came out to me, leading in his Hand a beloved Daughter of his; a young Woman of about Eighteen Years of Age: who wanted nothing to have made her  
Comely,

1661. Comely, but Gravity. An airy Piece she was :  
and very merry she made her self at me. When she had thoroughly viewed me, He, putting her a little forward towards me, said, *Here, Tom, will you Kiss her?* I was grieved and ashamed at this frothy Lightness; and I suppose he perceived it: whereupon he drew nearer, as if he would have whispered; and then said, *Will you lie with her?* At which I, with a disdainful Look, turning away; he said, *I think it would be better for you, than to be a Quaker:* and so little Consideration, and Regard to Modesty had she, that she added, *I think so too.*

This was all by Candle light. And when they had made themselves as much Sport with me as they would, the Marshall took his leave of them: and mounting me on a Horse of Clark's, had me Home to my Father's that Night.

Next Morning, before the Marshall went away, my Father and he consulted together how to intangle me. I felt there were Snares laid, but I did not know in what manner, or to what End; till the Marshall was ready to go. And then, coming where I was, to take his leave of me, he desired me to take notice, *That although he had brought me home to my Father's House again; yet I was not discharged from my Imprisonment, but was his Prisoner still: and that he had committed me to the Care of my Father, to see me forth-coming, whenever I should be called for. And therefore he expected I should in all things observe*



*observe my Father's Orders: and not go at any time 1661.  
from the House, without his Leave.* 

Now I plainly saw the Snare, and to what End it was laid. And I asked him if this Device was not contrived, to keep me from going to Meetings. He said, *I must not go to Meetings.* Whereupon I desired him to take Notice, That I would not own my self a Prisoner to any Man, while I continued here. That if he had Power to detain me Prisoner, he might take me back again with him, if he would, and I should not refuse to go with him. But I bid him assure himself, that while I was at home, I would take my Liberty, both to go to Meetings, and to visit Friends. He smiled, and said, *If I would be resolute, he could not help it;* and so took his leave of me.

By this I perceived that the Plot was of my Father's laying, to have brought me under such an Engagement, as should have ty'd me from going to Meetings: and thereupon I expected, I should have a new Exercise from my Father.

It was the constant manner of my Father, to have all the Keys of the Out-doors of his House (which were Four, and those link't upon a Chain) brought up into his Chamber every Night, and fetch'd out from thence in the Morning: so that none could come in, or go out, in the Night, without his Knowledge.

I knowing this, suspected, that if I got not out before my Father came down, I should be stopped from going out at all that Day. Wherefore (the Passage from my Chamber, lying by

1661. his Chamber-Door;) I went down softly, without my Shoes, and as soon as the Maid had opened the Door, I went out (though too early) and walk'd towards the Meeting at Moadle, some long Miles off.

I expected to have been talked with about it, when I came home: but heard nothing of it; my Father resolving to watch me better next time.

This I was aware of; and therefore on the next best Day I got up early, I went down softly, and hid my self in a Back Room, before the Maid was stirring. When she was up, she went into my Father's Chamber for the Keys: but she bid her leave them till he was up; and he would bring them down himself; which he did, and carried in the Kitchen, through which he expected I would go.

The manner was, That when the common Doors were opened, the Keys were hung upon a Pin in the Hall. While therefore my Father staid in the Kitchen, expecting my Coming; I stepping gently out of the Room where I was, reached the Keys; and opening another Door (not often used;) slipped out, and so got away.

I thought I had gone off undiscovered. But whether my Father saw me through a Window, or by what other means he knew of my going, I know not: but I had gone but a little Way, before I saw him coming after me.

The Sight of him put me to a stand in my Mind, whether I should go on, or stop. Had

it been in any other Case, than that of Going to 1661.  
a Meeting, I could not in any wise have gone a  
Step further. But I considered, that the intent  
of my Fathers endeavouring to stop me, was to  
hinder me from obeying the Call of my heavenly  
Father; and to stop me from going to wor-  
ship him, in the Assembly of his People: upon  
this I found it my Duty to go on; and observ-  
ing, that my Father gained Ground upon me,  
I somewhat mended my Pace.

This he observing, mended his Pace also;  
and at length Ran. Whereupon I ran also;  
and a fair Course we had, through a large Mea-  
dow of his, which lay behind his House and  
out of sight of the Town. He was not, I sup-  
pose, then above Fifty Years of Age; and be-  
ing light of Body, and nimble of Foot, he held  
me to it for a while. But afterwards slack-  
ing his Pace to take Breath, and observing that I  
had gotten Ground of him; he turned back,  
and went home: and (as I afterwards under-  
stood) telling my Sisters how I had served him,  
he said, *Nay, if he will take so much Pains to Go,  
let him Go, if he will.* And from that time for-  
ward he never attempted to stop me; but left  
me to my liberty, to Go when and whither I  
would: Yet kept me at the usual Distance, a-  
voiding the Sight of me, as much as he could;  
as not able to bear the Sight of my Hat on, nor  
willing to contend with me again about it.

Nor was it long after this, before I was left,  
not only to my self; but in a manner by my  
self. For the Time appointed for the Corona-

1661. tion of the KING (which was the 23d of the  
 ~ 2d Month, called *April*) drawing on; my Father, taking my two Sisters with him, went up to *London* sometime before: that they might be there in readiness, and put themselves into a Condition to see that so great a Solemnity; leaving no body in the House, but my self and a couple of Servants. And though this was intended only for a Visit on that Occasion: yet it proved the Breaking of the Family: for he bestowed both his Daughters there in Marriage, and took Lodgings for himself; so that afterwards they never returned to settle at *Crowell*.

Being now at Liberty, I walked over to *Alesbury*, with some other Friends, to visit my dear Friend *Isaac Penington*; who was still a Prisoner there. With him I found dear *John Whitehead*, and between Sixty and Seventy more; being well-nigh all the Men-Friends, that were then in the County of *Bucks*: many of them were taken out of their Houses by Armed Men, and sent to Prison (as I had been) for refusing to Swear. Most of these were thrust into an old Room, behind the Goal, which had anciently been a Malt-house; but was now so decayed, that it was scarce fit for a Dog-house. And so open it lay, that the Prisoners might have gone out at pleasure. But these were purposely put there, in confidence that they would not Go out: that there might be Room in the Prison for others, of other Professions and Names; whom the Goaler did not trust there.


While

While this Imprisonment lasted (which was 1661. for some Months) I went afterwards thither sometimes, to visit my suffering Brethren; and because it was a pretty long way (some eight or nine long Miles) too far to be walked forward and backward in one Day; I sometimes staid a Day or two there, and lay in the Malt-house among my Friends, with whom I delighted to be.

After this Imprisonment was over, I went sometimes to *Isaac Penington's* House at *Chalfont*, to visit that Family, and the Friends thereabouts. There was then a Meeting, for the most part, twice a Week in his House; but one *First Day* in four, there was a more General Meeting (which was thence called the *Monthly Meeting*) to which resorted most of the *Friends* of other adjacent Meetings: and to that I usually went; and sometimes made some stay there.

Here I came acquainted with a Friend of *London*, whose Name was *Richard Greenaway*, by Trade a *Taylor*; a very honest Man, and one who had received a Gift for the Ministry.

He, having been formerly in other Professions of Religion, had then been acquainted with one *John Ouy* of *Watlington* in *Oxfordshire* (a Man of some Note among the Professors there:) and understanding, upon Enquiry, that I knew him; he had some Discourse with me about him. The Result whereof was, that he, having an Intention then, shortly to visit some Meetings of Friends in this County, and

1661. the adjoyning Parts of *Oxfordshire* and *Berkshire*;  invited me to meet him (upon notice given) and to bear him Company in that Journey: and in the way bring him to *John Ovy's* House, with whom I was well acquainted; which I did.

We were kindly received, the Man and his Wife being very glad to see both their old Friend *Richard Greenaway*, and me also; whom they had been very well acquainted with formerly, but had never seen me since I was a *Quaker*.

Here we tarried that Night, and in the Evening had a little Meeting there, with some few of *John Ovy's* People; amongst whom R. G. declared the TRUTH: which they attentively heard, and did not oppose, which at that time of Day, we reckoned was pretty well: For many were apt to Cavil.

This Visit gave *John Ovy* an Opportunity to enquire of me after *Isaac Penington*; whose Writings (those which he had written before he came among Friends) he had Read, and had a great Esteem of: and he express'd a Desire to see him, that he might have some Discourse with him, if he knew how. Whereupon I told him, that if he would take the Pains to go to his House; I would bear him Company thither, introduce him, and Engage he should have a Kind Reception.

This pleas'd him much; and he embracing the Offer, I undertook to give him Notice of a suitable time; Which (after I had gone this little

little Journey with my Friend Richard Greena-1661.  
way, and was returned) I did; making Choice  
of the Monthly Meeting to go to.

We met, by Appointment at Stoken Church,  
with our Staves in our Hands; like a couple of  
Pilgrims, intending to walk on Foot; and ha-  
ving taken some Refreshments and Rest at *Wic-*  
*comb*, went on cheerfully in the Afternoon, En-  
tertaining each other with Grave and Religi-  
ous Discourse, (which made the Walk the ea-  
sier) and so reached thither in good time, on  
the Seventh Day of the Week.

I gave my Friends an Account who this Per-  
son was, whom I had brought to visit them,  
and the Ground of his Visit. He had been a  
Professor of Religion, from his Childhood to  
his old Age (for he was now both Gray-headed;  
and Elderly :) and was a Teacher at this time  
(and had long been so) amongst a People (the-  
ther Independants or Baptists, or I do not well re-  
member.) And so well thought of he was; for  
his Zeal and Honesty, that in those late Pro-  
fessing Times, he was thrust into the Commission  
of the Peace, and thereby, lifted up upon the  
Bench; which neither became him, nor he it.  
For he wanted indeed most of the Qualifica-  
tions, requisite for a Justice of the Peace; an  
Estate to defray the Charge of the Office, and  
to bear him up, in a Course of Living above  
Contempt; A competent Knowledge in the  
Laws; and a Presence of Mind, or Body, or  
both, to keep Offenders in some Awe; in all  
which he was deficient. For he was but a *Well-*

1661. *monger* by Trade, accustomed to ride upon his Pack of Skins; and had very little Estate: as little Knowledge in the Law; and of but a mean Presence, and Appearance to look on. But as my Father, I suppose, was the means of getting him put into the Commission: so he, I know, did what he could to countenance him in it, and help him through it at every turn; till that turn came (at the King's Return) which turned them both out together.

My Friends received me in affectionate Kindness, and my Companion with courteous Civility. The Evening was spent in common (but grave) Conversation: for it was not a proper Season for Private Discourse; both as we were somewhat weary with our Walk, and there were other Companies of *Friends* come into the Family, to be at the Meeting next Day.

But in the Morning I took *John Ory* into a private Walk, in a pleasant Grove near the House; whither *Isaac Penington* came to us: and there, in Discourse, both Answered all his Questions, Objections and Doubts; and opened to him the Principles of *TRUTH*, to his both Admiration and present Satisfaction. Which done, we went in, to take some Refreshment, before the Meeting began.

Of those *Friends* who were come over Night, in order to be at the Meeting, there was *Isaac's* Brother, *William Penington*, a Merchant of *London*; and with him a *Friend* (whose Name I have forgotten) a *Grocer* of *Colchester* in *Essex*; and there was also our *Friend George Whitehead*;



head; whom I had not (that I remember) seen before. 1661.

The Nation had been in a Ferment, ever since that mad Action of the Frantick *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*; and was not yet settled: but Storms, like Thunder-Showers, flew here and there by Coast; so that we could not promise our selves any Safety, or Quiet in our Meetings. And though they had escaped Disturbance for some little time before: yet so it fell out, that a Party of Horse were appointed to come, and break up the Meeting that Day; though we knew nothing of it, till we heard, and saw them.

The Meeting was scarce fully gathered when they came. But we that were in the Family, and many others were settled in it, in great Peace and Stilness; when on a suddain, the Prancing of the Horses gave Notice that Light'ning was at hand.

We all sat still in our Places, except my Companion, *John Ovy*, who sat next to me. But he being of a Profession that approved *Peter's* Advice to his Lord, *To save himself*, soon took the Alarm: and with the Nimbleness of a Stripling, Cutting a Caper over the Form that stood before him, ran quickly out at a private Door (which he had before observed) which led through the Parlour into the Gardens, and from thence into an Orchard: where he hid himself, in a Place so Obscure, and withal so convenient for his Intelligence by Observation

1661. tion of what passed; that no one of the Family  
 W could scarce have found a liker.

By that time he was got into his Burrow, came the Soldiers in; being a Party of the County Troop, commanded by *Matthew Archdale* of *Wiccomb*. He behaved himself civilly; and said, *He was commanded to break up the Meeting, and carry the Men before a Justice of the Peace: but he said He would not take all;* and thereupon began to pick and chuse, chiefly as his Eye guided him, for I suppose he knew very few.

He took *Isaac Penington*, and his Brother, *George Whitehead*, and the Friend of *Colchester*, and me, with Three or Four more of the Country, who belonged to that Meeting.

He was not fond of the Work, and that made him take no more. But he must take some (he said) and bid us provide to go with him before *Sir William Boyer* of *Denham*, who was a Justice of the Peace. *Isaac Penington* being but weakly, rode: but the rest of us walked thither, it being about four Miles.

When we came there, the Justice carried himself civilly to us all; courteously to *Isaac Penington*, as being a Gentleman of his Neighbourhood: and there was nothing charged against us, but that we were met together without Word or Deed. Yet this being contrary to a late Proclamation (given forth upon the rising of the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*) whereby all Dissenter's Meetings were forbidden, the Justice could do no less than take Notice of us.

Where-

Wherefore he Examined all of us (whom he <sup>1661</sup> did not personally know) asking our Names, and the places of our Respective Habitations. But when he had them, and considered from what distant Parts of the Nation we came; he was amazed. For G. Whitehead was of Westmorland in the North of England; The Grocer was of Essex; I was of Oxfordshire; and W. Penington was of London.

Hereupon he told us, *That our Case look't Ill, and he was sorry for it: for how (said he) can it be imagined that so many could jump altogether at one Time and Place, from such remote Quarters and Parts of the Kingdom; if it was not by Combination and Appointment.*

He was Answered, That we were so far from coming thither by Agreement, or Appointment; that none of us knew of the others Coming, and for the most of us, we had never seen one another before: and that therefore he might impute it to Chance, or, if he pleased, to Providence.

He urged upon us, *That an Insurrection had been lately made by Armed Men, who pretended to be more Religious than others; that that Insurrection had been Plotted and Contrived in their Meeting-House, where they Assembled under Colour of Worshipping GOD; that in their Meeting-House they hid their Arms, and Armed themselves; and out of their Meeting-House issued forth in Arms, and killed many: so that the Government could not be safe, unless such Meetings were suppress'd.*


1661. We reply'd, We hoped he would distinguish, and make a Difference between the *Guilty* and the *Innocent*; and between those who were Principled for *Fighting*, and those who were Principled *against it*: which we were, and had been always known to be so. That our Meetings were publick, our Doors standing open to all Comers, of all Ages, Sexes and Perswasions; Men, Women and Children, and those that were not of our Religion, as well as those that were: and that it was next to Madness, for People to Plot in such Meetings.

He told us, *We must find Sureties for our good Behaviour, and so Answer our Contempt of the King's Proclamation, at the next General Quarter-Sessions: or else he must Commit us.*

We told him, that knowing our Innocency, and that we had not mis-behaved our selves, nor did meet in Contempt of the King's Authority; but purely in obedience to the LORD's Requirings, to Worship Him, which we held our selves in Duty bound to do; we could not consent to be bound, for that would imply Guilt, which we were free from.

Then, said he, *I must commit you*: And ordered his Clerk to make a *Mittimus*. And divers *Mittimusses* were made, but none of them would hold: for still, when they came to be read, we found such Flaws in them, as made him through them aside, and write more.

He had his Eye often upon me: for I was a young Man, and had at that time a Black Suit on. At length he bid me follow him, and went

went into a private Room, and shut the Door 1661:  
upon me. 

I knew not what he meant by this: but I cried in Spirit to the Lord, that He would be pleased to be a Mouth and Wisdom to me, and keep me from being Entangled in any Snare.

He asked me many Questions, concerning my Birth, my Education, my Acquaintance in *Oxfordshire*; particularly what Men of Note I knew there. To all which I gave him brief, but plain and true Answers; naming several Families, of the best Rank, in that Part of the Country where I dwelt.

He asked me, How long I had been of this Way, and how I came to be of it: Which when I had given him some Account of; he began to persuade me to leave it, and return to the right Way (the *Church*, as he called it.) I desired him to spare his Pains in that respect, and forbear any Discourse of that kind: for that I was fully satisfied, the Way I was in was the right Way; and hoped the Lord would so preserve me in it, that nothing should be able to draw, or drive me out of it. He seemed not pleased with that; and thereupon went out to the rest of the Company; and I followed him; glad in my Heart, that I had escaped so well, and Praising God for my Deliverance.

When he had taken his Seat again, at the upper End of a fair Hall, he told us, he was not willing to take the utmost Rigour of the Law against us; but would be as favourable to

1661. to us as he could. And therefore he would discharge, he said, Mr. Penington himself, because he was but at Home in his own House. And he would discharge Mr. Penington of London, because he come but as a Relation, to visit his Brother. And he would discharge the Grocer of Colchester, because he came to bear Mr. Penington of London Company; and to be acquainted with Mr. Isaac Penington, whom he had never seen before. And as for those others of us, who were of this Country, he would discharge them, for the present at least, because they being his Neighbours, he could send for them when he would. But as for you, said he to George Whitehead and me, *I can see no Business you had there; and therefore I intend to hold you to it; either to Give Bayl, or Go to Jail.*

We told him we could not give Bayl, Then, said he, *You must go to Jail*; and thereupon he began to write our *Mittimus*: which puzzled him again. For he had discharged so many, that he was at a Loss what to lay, as the Ground of our Commitment; whose Case differed nothing in Reality, from theirs whom he had discharged.

At length, having made divers Draughts (which still G.W. shewed him the Defects of) he seemed to be weary of us; and rising up said unto us, *I consider that it is grown late in the Day, so that the Officer cannot carry you to Alesbury to Night; and I suppose you will be willing to go back with Mr. Penington: therefore if you will promise to be forth-coming at his House*  
to

to Morrow Morning, I will dismiss you for the present; and you shall hear from me again to morrow.


We told him, we did intend, if he did not otherwise dispose of us, to spend that Night with our Friend *Isaac Penington*; and would (if the Lord gave us leave) be there in the Morning, ready to Answer his Requirings. Whereupon he dismissed us all willing (as we thought) to be rid of us: for he seemed not to be of an ill Temper, nor desirous to put us to Trouble, if he could help it.

Back then we went to *Isaac Penington's*. But when we were come thither, O the Work we had with poor *John Ory*! He was so dejected in Mind, so Covered with Shame and Confusion of Face; for his Cowardliness, that we had enough to do to pacifie him towards himself.

The Place he had found out to Shelter himself in, was so commodiously contrived, that undiscovered he could discern when the Soldiers went off with us, and understand when the Bussle was over, and the Coast clear. Whereupon he adventured to peep out of his Hole; and in a while drew near, by degrees, to the House again, and finding all things quiet and still, he adventured to step within the Doors, and found the Friends, who were left behind, peaceably settled in the Meeting again.

The Sight of this smote him; and made him sit down among them. And after the Meeting was ended, and the Friends departed to their several Homes; addressing himself to

*Mary*

1661. *Mary Penington* (as the Mistress of the House)  he could not enough magnifie the Bravery and Courage of the Friends: nor sufficiently debase himself. He told her how long he had been a Professor, what Pains he had taken, what Hazards he had run, in his Youthful Days, to get to Meetings; how, when the Ways were forelaid, and ~~the~~ stages stop't, he Swam through Rivers to reach a Meeting: And now, said he, *that I am grown Old in the Profession of Religion, and have long been an Instructor and Encourager of others; that I should thus shamefully fall short my self; is matter of Shame and Sorrow to me.*

Thus he bewailed himself to her. And when we came back, he renewed his Complaints of himself to us; with high Aggravations of his own Cowardice. Which gave Occasion to some of the Friends, tenderly to represent to him the Difference between *Profession* and *Possession*, *Form* and *Power*.

*He was glad, he said, on our Behalfe, that we came off so well, and escaped Imprisonment.*

But when he understood that *G. Whitehead* and I were liable to an After-Reckoning next Morning; he was troubled: and wish't the Morning was come, and gone; that we might be gone with it.

We spent the Evening in grave Conversation, and in Religious Discourses; attributing the Deliverance me hitherto had to the LORD. And the next Morning when we were up, and had Eaten, we tarried some time to see what the



the Justice would do further with us; and to 1661. discharge our Engagement to him: the rest of the Friends, who were before fully discharged, tarrying also with us, to see the Event.

And when we had staid so long, that on all Hands it was concluded we might safely go; G. W. and I left a few Words in Writing (to be sent to the Justice, if he sent after us) importing that we had tarried till such an Hour; and not hearing from him, did now hold our selves free to depart: yet so, as that, if he should have Occasion to send for us again, upon Notice thereof, we would Return.

This done, we took our leave of the Family, and one of another; they who were for *London* taking Horse; and I and my Companion, setting forth on Foot for *Oxfordshire*, went to *Wiccomb*; where we made a short Stay, to rest and refresh our selves, and from thence reached our Respective Homes that Night.

After I had spent some time at Home; where, as I had no Restraint, so (my Sisters being gone) I had now no Society: I walked up to *Chalfont* again; and spent a few Days with my Friends there.

As soon as I came in, I was told, that my Father had been there that Day to see J. P. and his Wife: but they being abroad at a Meeting, he returned to his Inn in the Town, where he intended to Lodge that Night. After Supper, M. P. told me she had a Mind to go and see him at his Inn (the Woman of the House being a Friend of ours:) and I went

1661. with her. He seem'd somewhat surprized to see me there, because he thought I had been at home at his House: but he took no notice of my Hat; at least shewed no Offence at it: for (as I afterwards understood) he had now an Intention to sell his Estate, and thought he should need my Concurrence therein; which made him now hold it necessary to admit me again into some Degree of Favour. After we had tarried some little time with him; she rising up to be gone, he waited on her home: and having spent about an Hour with us in the Family, I waited on him back to his Inn. On the way, he invited me to Come up to London, to see my Sisters; the younger of whom was then newly Married: and directed me where to find 'em; and also gave me Money to defray my Charges. Accordingly I went; yet staid not long there: but returned to my Friend J. P.'s, where I made a little Stay; and from thence went back to Crowell.

When I was ready to set forth, my Friend *Isaac Penington*, was so kind to send a Servant with a Brace of Geldings, to Carry me as far as I thought fit to ride, and to bring the Horses back. I, intending to go no farther that Day than to *Wiccomb*, rode no farther than to *Beconsfield Towns-End*; having then but Five Miles to walk. But here a new-Exercise befel me; the manner of which was thus.

Before I had walked to the middle of the Town, I was stop't, and taken up by the Watch. I asked the Watchman, What Authority

thority he had to stop me, travelling peaceably 1661 on the High-Way. He told me he would shew me his Authority; and in order thereunto, had me into an House hard-by, where dwelt a *Scrivener*, whose Name was *Pepys*. To him he gave the Order which he had received from the Constables; which directed him to take up all Rogues, Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars. I asked him, For which of these he stopped me: but he could not Answer me.

I thereupon informed him, what a *Rogue* in Law is, *viz. One, who for some notorious Offence was burnt on the Shoulder*: and I told them, they might search me, if they pleased, and see if I was so branded. A *Vagabond*, I told them, was *One that had no Dwelling House, nor certain Place of Abode*; but I had, and was going to it: and I told them where it was. And for a *Beggar*; I bid them bring any one that could say, I had *begged* or *asked Relief*.

This stop't the Fellow's Mouth; yet he would not let me go: but (being both weak-headed, and strong-willed) he left me there with the *Scrivener*, and went out to seek the Constable; and having found him, brought him thither. He was a young Man, by Trade a *Tanner*; somewhat better Mannered than his Wardman: but not of much better Judgment.

He took me with him to his House. And Having settled me there, went out; to take Advice (as I supposed) what to do with me: leaving no Body in the House, to Guard me,

1661. but his Wife; who had a young Child in her Arms,

She enquired of me, upon what Account I was taken up; and seeming to have some Pity for me, endeavoured to perswade me not to stay; but to go my way: offering to shew me a back way from their House, which would bring me into the Road again beyond the Town, so that none of the Town should see me, or know what was become of me. But I told her, I could not do so.

Then having sate a while in a muze, she asked me, *If there was not a place of Scripture which said, Peter was at a Tanner's House.* I told her there was such a Scripture; and directed her where to find it.

After some time, she laid her Child to sleep in the Cradle; and step't out on a suddain: but came not in again in a pretty while.

I was uneasie that I was left alone in the House; fearing lest, if any thing should be missing, I might be suspected to have taken it: yet I durst not go out to stand in the Street: lest it should be thought I intended to slip away.

But besides that, I soon found Work to imploy my self in; for the Child quickly waking, fell to Crying; and I was fain to Rock the Cradle in my own Defence; that I might not be annoyed with a Noise, to me not more unpleasant than unusual. At length the Woman came in again; and finding me Nursing the Child,

Child, gave me many Thanks: and seemed 1661.  
well pleased with my Company. ~

When Night came on, the Constable himself came in again, and told me, *Some of the Chief of the Town were met together, to Consider what was fit to do with me; and that I must go with him to them.* I went, and he brought me to a little nasty Hut; which they called a *Town-House* (adjoining to their *Market-House*) in which dwelt a poor old Woman, whom they called *Mother Grime*: where also the Watch used by turns, to come in, and warm themselves in the Night.

When I came in among them, they looked (some of them) somewhat sourly on me; and ask'd me some impertinent Questions: to which I gave them suitable Answers.

Then they consulted one with another, how they should dispose of me that Night, till they could have me before some *Justice of Peace*, to be Examined. Some propos'd, *That I should be had to some Inn, or other publick House; and a Guard set on me there.* He that started this was probably an Inn-keeper, and consulted his own Interest. Others objected against this, *That it would bring a Charge on the Town.* To avoid which, they were for having the Watch take Charge of me; and keep me walking about the Streets with them till Morning. Most Voices seem'd to go this way; till a Third wish'd them to consider, *Whether they could answer the doing of that, and the Law would bear them out in it:* And this put them to a stand.

1661. I heard all their Debates; but let them alone :  
 and kept my Mind to the LORD.

While they thus bandied the Matter to and fro, one of the Company asked the rest, *If any of them knew who this young Man was, and whither he was going?* Whereupon the Constable (to whom I had given both my Name, and the Name of the Town where I dwelt) told them my Name was *Ellwood*, and that I lived at a Town called *Crowell* in *Oxfordshire*.

Old Mother *Grime*, sitting by and hearing this, clap'd her Hand on her Knee, and cry'd out, *I know Mr. Ellwood of Crowell very well. For when I was a Maid I lived with his Grandfather there, when he was a Young Man.* And thereupon she gave them such an Account of my Father, as made them look more regardfully on me: and so Mother *Grime's* Testimony turned the Scale; and took me off from walking the Rounds with the Watch that Night.

The Constable hereupon bid them take no further Care; I should lie at his House that Night: and accordingly took me home with him; where I had as good Accommodation as the House did afford. Before I went to Bed, he told me, *That there was to be a Visitation, or Spiritual Court (as he called it) holden next Day at Amersham, about four Miles from Beconsfield: and that I was to be carried thither.*

This was a new Thing to me, and it brought a fresh Exercise upon my Mind. But being given up, in the Will of God, to suffer what  
 He

He should permit to be laid on me; I endeavoured to keep my Mind quiet and still. 1661.

In the Morning, as soon as I was up, my Spirit was Exercised towards the Lord, in strong Cries to Him; that He would stand by me, and preserve me: and not suffer me to be taken in the Snare of the Wicked. While I was thus Crying to the Lord, the other Constable came; and I was called down.

This was a budge Fellow; and talked high. He was a *Shoo-maker* by Trade; and his Name was *Clark*. He threat'ned me with the *Spiritual* Court. But when he saw I did not regard it, he stop't; and left the Master to his Partner; who pretended more Kindness for me, and therefore went about to perswade *Clark*, to let me go out at the Back Door; so slip away.

The Plot, I suppose, was so laid, that *Clark* should seem averse; but at length yeild, which he did: but would have me take it for a Favour. But I was so far from taking it so, that I would not take it at all, but told them plainly, That as I came in at the Fore Door; so I would go out at the Fore Door. When therefore they saw they could not bow me to their Will, they brought me out at the Fore Door, into the Street, and wished me a good Journey. Yet before I went, calling for the Woman of the House, I paid her for my Supper and Lodging for I had now gotten a little Money in my Pocket again.

1661. After this, I got home (as I thought) very well: but I had not been long at home, before an Illness seized on me; which proved to be the *Small-Pox*. Of which so soon as *Friends* had Notice, I had a Nurse sent me; and in a while, *Isaac Penington*, and his Wife's Daughter, *Guelma Maria Springett*. (to whom I had been Play-Fellow in our Infancy) came to visit me: bringing with them our dear Friend *Edward Burrough*, by whose Ministry I was called to the Knowledge of the Truth.

It pleased the Lord to deal favourably with me in this Illness, both Inwardly and Outwardly. For his Supporting Presence was with me, which kept my Spirit near unto him: and though the Distemper was strong upon me; yet I was preserved through it, and my Countenance was not much altered by it. But after I was got up again, and while I kept my Chamber; wanting some Employment, for Entertainment sake, to spend the Time with; and there being at hand a pretty good Library of Books (amongst which were the Works of *Augustine*, and others of those Ancient Writers, who were by many called the *Fathers*;) I betook myself to Reading. And these Books being Printed in the old Black-Letter, with Abbreviations of the Words, difficult to be read. I spent too much time therein: and thereby much impaired my Sight, which was not strong before, and was now weaker than usual, by reason of the Illness I had so newly had; which



which proved an Injury to me afterwards; for 1661.  
which reason I here mention it.

After I was well enough to go abroad, with respect to my own Health, and the Safety of others; I went up (in the beginning of the *Twelfth Month*, 1661.) to my Friend *Isaac Penington's* at *Chalfont*, and abode there sometime: for the Airing my self more fully; that I might be more fit for Conversation.

I mentioned before, that when I was a Boy, 1662.  
I had made some good Progress in Learning; and lost it all again before I came to be a Man: Nor was I rightly sensible of my Loss therein, until I came amongst the *Quakers*. But then I both saw my Loss, and lamented it; and applied my self with utmost Diligence, at all leisure Times to recover it: so false I found that Charge to be, which in those Times was cast, as a Reproach upon the *Quakers*, That *they despised and decried all Humane Learning*; because they denied it to be essentially necessary to a *Gospel-Ministry*, which was one of the Controversies of those Times.

But though I toiled hard, and spared no Pains, to regain what once I had been Master of; yet I found it a Matter of so great Difficulty, that I was ready to say as the Noble *Eunuch* to *Philip* in another Case; *How can I, unless I had some Man to guide me?*

This I had formerly complained of to my especial Friend *Isaac Penington*; but now more earnestly; which put him upon Considering,

1662. ing, and Contriving a Means for my Assistance.

He had an intimate Acquaintance with Dr. *Paget*, a Physician of Note in *London*; and he with *John Milton*, a Gentleman of great Note for Learning, throughout the Learned World, for the accurate Pieces he had Written, on various Subjects and Occasions.

This Person, having filled a publick Station; in the former Times; lived now a private and retired Life in *London*: and having wholly lost his Sight, kept always a Man to read to him; which usually was the Son of some Gentleman of his Acquaintance, whom, in Kindness, he took to improve in his Learning.

Thus, by the Mediation of my Friend *Isaac Penington* with Dr. *Paget*, and of Dr. *Paget* with *John Milton*, was I admitted to come to him; not as a Servant to him (which at that time he needed not) nor to be in the House with him; but only to have the Liberty of Coming to his House, at certain Hours, when I would, and to read to him what Books he should appoint me; which was all the Favour I desired.

But this being a Matter, which would require some time to bring it about: I, in the mean while returned to my Father's House in *Oxfordshire*.

I had before received Direction, by Letters from my Eldest Sister (written by my Father's Command) to put off what Cattle he had left about his House, and to Discharge his Servants; which

which I had done at the time called *Michaelmas* 1662. before. So that all that Winter, when I was at Home, I lived like an *Hermist* all alone; having a pretty large House, and no Body in it but my self, a Nights especially: but an elderly Woman (whose Father had been an old Servant to the Family) came every Morning, and made my Bed; and did what else I had occasion for her to do; till I fell Ill of the *Small Pox*, and then I had her with me, and the Nurse. But now, understanding by Letter from my Sister, that my Father did not intend to return to settle there; I made off those Provisions which were in the House (that they might not be spoiled when I was gone:) and because they were what I should have spent, if I had tarried there, I took the Money made of them to my self, for my support at *London*, if the Project succeeded for my Going thither.

This done, I committed the Care of the House to a Tenant of my Father's, who lived in the Town; and taking my leave of *Crowell*, went up to my sure Friend *Isaac Penington* again. Where understanding that the Mediation used for my Admittance to *John Milton*, had succeeded so well, that I might come when I would; I hastned to *London*: and in the first place went to wait upon him.

He received me courteously; as well for the sake of *Dr. Paget*, who introduced me: as of *Isaac Penington*, who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good Respect. And having enquired divers things of me, with respect

1662. spect to my former Progreſſion in Learning; he diſmiſt me, to provide my ſelf of ſuch Accommodations, as might be moſt ſuitable to my future Studies.

I went therefore and took my ſelf a Lodging: as near to his Houſe (which was then, in *Jewen-Street*) as conveniently as I could: and from thenceforward went every Day in the Afternoon (except on the firſt Days of the Week) and ſitting by him in his Dining-Room, read to him in ſuch Books in the *Latin Tongue*, as he pleaſed to hear me read.

At my firſt ſitting to read to him, obſerving that I uſed the *English Pronunciation*, he told me, *If I would have the Benefit of the Latin Tongue (not only to read and underſtand Latin Authors, but) to Converſe with Foreigners, either abroad or at home, I muſt learn the Foreign Pronunciation.* To this I conſenting, he inſtructed me how to ſound the Vowels; ſo different from the common Pronunciation, uſed by the *English* (who ſpeak *Anglice* their *Latin*) that (with ſome few other Variations in ſounding ſome Conſonants, in particular Caſes; as C, before E. or I. like *Ch.* Sc. before I. like *Sh.* &c.) the *Latin* thus ſpoken, ſeemed as different from that which was delivered as the *English* generally ſpeak it, as if it were another Language.

I had before, during my retired Life at my Father's, by unwearied Diligence and Industry, ſo far recovered the Rules of *Grammar* (in which I had once been very ready) that I could both read a *Latin* Author, and after a ſort hammer

mer out his Meaning. But this Change of <sup>1662.</sup> Pronunciation proved a New Difficulty to me. It was now harder to me to read, than it was before to understand when read. But

*Labor omnia vincit*  
*Improbis.*

Incessant Pains,  
The End obtains.

And so did I. Which made my Reading the more acceptable to my Master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest Desire I pursued Learning; gave me not only all the Encouragement, but all the Help he could. For, having a curious Ear, he understood by my Tone, when I understood what I read, and when I did not: and accordingly would stop me, Examine me, and open the most difficult Passages to me.

Thus went I on, for about Six Weeks time, reading to him in the Afternoons, and Exercising my self, with my own Books, in my Chamber, in the Forenoons: I was sensible of an Improvement.

But, alas! I had fixed my Studies in a wrong Place. *London* and I could never agree for Health: my Lungs (as I suppose) were too tender to bear the Sulphurous Air of that City. So that I soon began to droop; and in less than two Months time, I was fain to leave both my Studies and the City; and return into the Country

1662. try to preserve Life: and much ado I had to  
get thither.


I chose to go down to *Wiccomb*; and to *John Rance's* House there: both as he was a Physician; and his Wife an honest, hearty, discreet and grave Matron; whom I had a very good Esteem of, and who (I knew) had a good Regard for me.

There I lay ill a considerable time, and to that degree of Weakness, that scarce any, who saw me, expected my Life. But the Lord was both gracious to me in my Illness; and was pleased to raise me up again, that I might serve Him in my Generation.

As soon as I had recovered so much Strength, as to be fit to Travel; I obtained of my Father (who was then at his House in *Crowell* to dispose of some things he had there, and who in my Illness had come to see me) so much Money as would clear all Charges in the House, for both Physick, Food and Attendance: and having fully discharged all, I took leave of my Friends in that Family, and in the Town; and returned to my Studies at *London*.

I was very kindly received by my Master, who had conceived so good an Opinion of me, that my Conversation (I found) was acceptable to him: and he seem'd heartily glad of my Recovery and Return; and into our old Method of Study we fell again, I Reading to him, and he Explaining to me, as Occasion required.

But, as if Learning had been a forbidden Fruit to me, scarce was I well settled in my  
Work,

Work, before I met with another Diversion, 1662. which turned me quite out of my Work. 

For a suddain Storm arising, from I know not what Surmise of a Plot, and thereby Danger to the Government; and the Meetings of Dissenters (such I mean as could be found, which perhaps were not many besides the *Quakers*) were broken up throughout the City: and the Prisons mostly filled with our Friends.

I was that Morning (which was the 26th Day of the 8th Month, 1662.) at the Meeting at the *Bull-and-Mouth* by *Aldersgate*; when on a suddain, a Party of Soldiers (of the Trained Bands of the City) rushed in, with Noise and Clamour: being led by one who was called *Major Roserwell*; an *Apothecary* (if I misremember not) and at that time under the ill Name of a *Papist*.

As soon as he was come within the Room, having a File or two of Musketteers at his Heels; he commanded his Men to present their Muskets at us: which they did; with Intent (I suppose) to strike a Terror into the People. Then he made a Proclamation that all, who were not *Quakers* might depart if they would.

It so happened, that a Young Man, an Apprentice in *London*, whose Name was — *Dove* (the Son of Dr. *Dove* of *Chinner*, near *Cromell*, in *Oxfordshire*) came that Day in Curiosity, to see the Meeting: and Coming early, and finding me there (whom he knew) came and sat down by me.

1662. As soon as he heard the Noise of Soldiers, *W* he was much startled; and asked me softly, *If I would not shift for my Self, and try to get out.* I told him, No; I was in my place; and was willing to suffer, if it was my Lot. When he heard the Notice given, that *they who were not Quakers might depart*; he solicited me again to be gone. I told him, I could not do so: for that would be to renounce my Profession; which I would by no means do. But as for him, who was not one of us, he might do as he pleased. Whereupon, wishing me well, he turned away, and with Cap in Hand, went out. And truly I was glad he was gone: for his Master was a rigid *Presbyterian*, who (in all likelihood) would have led him a wretched Life, had he been taken and Imprisoned among the *Quakers*.

The Soldiers came so early, that the Meeting was not fully gathered when they came; and when the mixt Company were gone out, we were so few, and sate so thin in that large Room, that they might take a clear view of us all, and single us out, as they pleased.

He that Commanded the Party, gave us first a general Charge to come out of the Room. But we, who came thither at God's Requirings, to Worship Him (like that good Man of Old, who said, *We ought to obey God, rather than Men.* Acts 5. 29.) stirred not; but kept our Places. Whereupon he sent some of his Soldiers among us, with Command to Drag, or Drive us out; which they did, roughly enough.

When



When we came out into the Street, we were received there, by other Soldiers, who with their Pikes, holden length-ways from one another, encompassed us round, as Sheep in a Pound: and there we stood a pretty time, while they were picking up more, to add to our Number.

In this Work none seemed so eager and active, as their Leader, Major *Roswell*. Which I observing, stept boldly to him, as he was passing by me; and asked him, If he intended a *Massacre*: for of that, in those times, there was a great Apprehension and Talk. The suddenness of the Question, from such a young Man especially, somewhat startled him: but recollecting himself, he answered, *No; but I intend to have you all hanged by the wholesome Laws of the Land.*

When he had gotten as many as he could, or thought fit (which were in Number *Thirty Two*; whereof Two were catch'd up in the Street, who had not been at the Meeting) he ordered the Pikes to be opened before us: and giving the Word to March, went himself at the Head of us; the Soldiers with their Pikes making a Lane to keep us from scattering.

He led us up *Martins*; and so turned down to *Newgate*; where I expected he would have lodged us. But to my Disappointment, he went on through *Newgate*; and turning through the *Old-Baily*, brought us into *Fleet-Street*. I was then wholly at a Loss, to conjecture whether he would lead us; unless it were to *White-*  
L *hall*

1662. *hall* (for I knew nothing then of *Old-Bridewell*;) but on a suddain he gave a short Turn, and brought us before the Gate of that Prison; where knocking, the Wicket was forthwith opened, and the Master, with his Porter, ready to receive us.

One of those two, who were picked up in the Street, being near me, and telling me his Case; I stept to the Major, and told him, That this Man was not at the Meeting, but was taken up in the Street: and shew'd him how hard, and unjust a thing it would be to put him into Prison.

I had not pleased him before, in the Question I had put to him about a Massacre; and that, I suppose, made this Solicitation less acceptable to him from me, than it might have been from some other. For looking sternly on me, he said, *Who are you! that take so much upon you. Seeing you are so busie, you shall be the first Man that shall go into Bridewell:* and taking me by the Shoulders, he thrust me in.

As soon as I was in, the Porter, pointing with his Finger, directed me to a fair Pair of Stairs, on the further side of a large Court; and bid me *Go up those Stairs, and go on till I could go no farther.*

Accordingly I went up the Stairs; the first Flight whereof brought me to a fair Chappel on my left hand: which I could look into, through the Iron-Grates; but could not have gone into if I would.

I knew

I knew that was not a Place for me. Where-<sup>1662.</sup> fore following my Direction, and the winding of the Stairs, I went up a Story higher; which brought me into a Room, which I soon perceived to be a *Court-Room* or Place of *Judicature*. After I had stood a while there, and taken a View of it; observing a Door on the further side, I went to it, and opened it, with intention to go in: but I quickly drew back; being almost affrighted at the Dismalness of the Place. For besides that the Walls quite round were laid all over from Top to Bottom, in Black; there stood in the middle of it a great Whipping-Post, which was all the furniture it had.

In one of these two Rooms Judgment was given, and in the other it was executed, on those ill People: who for their Lewdness were sent to this Prison; and there sentenced to be Whip'd. Which was so contrived that the Court might not only hear, but see (if they pleased) their Sentence Executed.

A Sight so unexpected, and withal so unpleasing, gave me no Encouragement, either to rest; or indeed to enter at all there: till looking earnestly, I spy'd on the opposite side a Door; which giving me Hopes of a further Progress, I adventured to step hastily to it, and opened it.

This let me into one of the fairest Rooms, that (so far as I remember) I was ever in; and no wonder: for though it was now put to this mean Use, it had, for many Ages past, been the Royal Seat, or Palace of the Kings of *England*; until Cardinal *Woolsey* Built *Whitehall*,

1662. and offered it as a *Peate-Offering* to King HENRY the Eighth; who until that time had kept his Court in this House, and had this (as the People in the House reported) for his Dining-Room, by which Name it then went.

This Room in length (for I lived long enough in it to have time to measure it) was *Threescore Foot*: and had Breadth proportionable to it. In it, on the Front-Side, were very large Bay-Windows, in which stood a large Table. It had other very large Tables in it, with Benches round: and at that time the Floor was covered with Rushes, against some Solemn Festival, which (I heard) it was bespoken for.

Here was my *Nil ultra*: and here I found I might set up my Pillar: for although there was a Door out of it, to a Back-Pair of Stairs which led to it; yet that was kept locked. So that finding I had now followed my Keeper's Direction to the utmost Point; beyond which I could not go: I sat down, and considered that rhetorical Saying, *That the Way to Heaven, lay by the Gate of Hell*; the Black Room, through which I passed into this, bearing some Resemblance to the latter, as *This* comparatively, and by way of Allusion, might in some sort be thought to bear to the former.

But I was quickly put out of these Thoughts by the Flocking in of the other *Friends*, my Fellow-Prisoners; amongst whom yet, when all were come together, there was but one, whom I knew so much as by Face; and with him I had no Acquaintance. For I having been  
but

but a little while in the City, and in that time 1662. kept close to my Studies; I was, by that Means, known to very few.

Soon after we were all gotten together, came up the Master of the House after us, and demanded our Names: which we might reasonably have refused to give; till we had been legally convened before some Civil Magistrate, who had Power to Examine us, and demand our Names. But we, who were neither *Guiltful*, nor *Wilful*, simply gave him our Names; which he took down in Writing.

It was, (as I hinted before) a general Storm which fell that Day; but it lighted most, and most heavy, upon our Meetings; so that most of our Men-Friends were made Prisoners, and the Prisons generally filled. And great Work had the Women, to run about from Prison to Prison, to find their Husbands, their Fathers, their Brothers, or their Servants; for accordingly as they had disposed themselves to several Meetings; so were they dispersed to several Prisons. And no less Care and Pains had they, when they had found them; to furnish them with Provisions, and other necessary Accommodations.

But an excellent Order, even in those early Days, was practised among the *Friends* of that City; by which there were certain *Friends*, of either Sex, appointed to have the Oversight of the Prisons in every Quarter; and to take Care of all Friends, the *Poor* especially; that should be Committed thither.

1662. This Prison of *Bridewell* was under the Care of two honest, grave, discreet and motherly Women; whose Names were *Anne Merrick* (afterwards *Vivers*) and *Anne Travers*: both Widows.

They, so soon as they understood, that there were *Friends* brought into that Prison, provided some hot Viſuals, Meat and Broth, (for the Weather was cold;) and ordering their Servants to bring it them, with Bread, Cheeſe and Beer, came themſelves alſo with it: and having placed it on a Table, gave notice to us, *That it was provided for all thoſe, that had not others to provide for them; or were not able to provide for themſelves.* And there wanted not among us a competent Number of ſuch Gueſts.

As for my part, though I had lived as frugally as poſſibly I could, that I might draw out the Thread of my little Stock to the utmoſt length: yet had I, by this time, reduced it to *Ten Pence*; which was all the Money I had about me, or any where elſe at my Command.

This was but a ſmall Eſtate, to enter upon an Imprisonment with: yet was I not at all diſcouraged at it; nor had I a murmuring Thought. I had known what it was (moderately) to *Abound*: and if I ſhould now come to ſuffer *Want*, I knew I ought to be content: and through the Grace of GOD I was ſo. I had lived by Providence before (when for a long time, I had no Money at all;) and I had always found the LORD a good Provider. I made no doubt therefore that He, who ſent the Ravens

Ravens to feed *Elijah*, and who cloaths the Lilies, would find some means to sustain me, with needful Food and Raiment: and I had learn'd by Experience the Truth of that Saying, *Natura paucis contenta*; i. e. Nature is content with few things, or a little.

Although the Sight and Smell of *hot Food*, was sufficiently enticing to my *empty Stomach* (for I had Eaten little that Morning, and was hungry :) yet considering the Terms of the Invitation, I questioned whether I was included in it; and after some Reasonings, at length concluded, That while I had *Ten Pence* in my Pocket, I should be but an injurious Intruder to that Mess, which was provided for such as, perhaps, had not *Two Pence* in theirs.

Being come to this Resolution, I withdrew as far from the Table as I could; and sat down in a quiet Retirement of Mind, till the Repast was over, which was not long: for there were Hands enough at it, to make light Work of it.

When Evening came, the Porter came up the Back-Stairs, and opening the Door, told us, *If we desired to have any thing that was to be had in the House, he would bring it us: for there was in the House a Chandler's-Shop; at which Beer, Bread, Butter, Cheese, Eggs and Bacon might be had for Money.* Upon which many went to him, and spake for what of these things, they had a Mind to; giving him Money to pay for them.

1662. Among the rest went I, and (intending to spin out my *Ten Pence*, as far as I could) desired him to bring me a Penny Loaf only. When he returned, we all resorted to him, to receive our several Provisions; which he delivered: and when he came to me, he told me, *He could not get a Penny Loaf; but he had brought me two Half-Penny Loaves.*

This suited me better: wherefore returning to my Place again, I sate down, and Eat up one of my Loaves; reserving the other for the next Day.

This was to me both Dinner and Supper. And so well satisfied I was with it, that I could willingly then have gone to Bed; if I had had one to go to: but that was not to be expected there; nor had any one any Bedding brought in that Night.

Some of the Company had been so considerate, as to send for a Pound of Candles; that we might not sit all Night in the dark: and having lighted divers of them, and placed them in several Parts of that large Room; we kept walking to keep us warm.

After I had warmed my self pretty thoroughly, and the Evening was pretty far spent; I bethought my self of a Lodging; and casting mine Eye on the Table, which stood in the Bay-Window; the Frame whereof look't, I thought, somewhat like a Beadstead. Wherefore willing to make sure of that, I gathered up a good Armful of the Rushes, wherewith the Floor was covered; and spreading them under  
that



that Table, crep't in upon them in my Cloaths: 1662. and keeping on my Hat, laid my Head upon one End of the Tables Frame, instead of a Bolster.

My Example was followed by the rest, who gathering up Rushes, as I had done, made themselves Beds in other Parts of the Room: and so to rest we went.

I, having a quiet, easie Mind, was soon a sleep; and slept till about the middle of the Night. And then waking, finding my Legs and Feet very cold, I crep't out of my Cabin, and began to walk about apace.

This waked, and raised all the rest; who finding themselves cold as well as I, got up and walked about with me, till we had pretty well warmed our selves: and then we all lay down again, and rested till Morning.

Next Day, all they who had Families, or belong'd to Families, had Bedding brought in, of one Sort or other; which they disposed at the Ends, and Sides of the Room, leaving the Middle void to walk in.


But I, who had no Body to look after me, kept to my Rushy-Pallet under the Table, for four Nights together, in which time I did not put off my Cloths: yet, through the merciful Goodness of GOD unto me, I rested and slept well, and enjoyed Health, without taking Cold.

In this time divers of our Company, through the Solicitations of some of their Relations, or Acquaintance, to Sir Richard Brown (who was  
at

1662. at that time a great Master of *Mis-rule* in the City, and over *Bridewell* more especially) were released: And among these, one *William Mucklow*, who lay in an Hammack. He, having observed that I only was unprovided of Lodging, came very courteously to me, and kindly offered me the Use of his Hammack, while I should continue a Prisoner.

This was a Providential Accommodation to me; which I received thankfully, both from the LORD, and from him: and from thenceforth I thought I lay as well as ever I had done in my Life.

Amongst those that remained, there were several Young Men, who cast themselves into a Club; and laying down every one an equal Proportion of Money, put it into the Hand of our Friend *Anne Travers*: desiring her to lay it out for them in Provisions, and send them in every Day a Mefs of hot Meat; and they kindly invited me to come into their Club with them. These saw my Person, and judged of me by that; but they saw not my Purse; nor understood the Lightness of my Pocket. But, I, who alone understood my own Condition; knew I must sit down with lower Commons. Wherefore not giving them the true Reason; I as fairly as I could excused my self from entering, at present into their Mefs; and went on, as before, to eat by my self, and that very sparingly, as my Stock would bear. And before my *Ten Pence* was quite spent, Providence,

dence, on whom I relied, sent me in a fresh <sup>1662.</sup> Supply. 

For *William Penington* (a Brother of *Isaac Penington's*) a Friend and Merchant in *London* (at whose House, before I came to live in the City, I was wont to Lodge) having been at his Brothers that Day upon a Visit, escaped this Storm; and so was at Liberty: And understanding when he came back, what had been done, bethought himself of me; and upon Enquiry hearing where I was, came in Love to see me.

He, in Discourse, amongst other things, asked me, *How it was with me as to Money?* and *how well I was furnished?* I told him, I could not boast of much: and yet I could not say I had none (Though what I then had was indeed next to none.) Whereupon he put *Twenty Shillings* into my Hand; and desired me to accept of that for the present. I saw a Divine Hand in thus opening his Heart and Hand in this manner to me. And though I would willingly have been excused from taking so much, and would have returned one half of it: yet he pressing it all upon me, I received it with a thankful Acknowledgment, as a Token of Love from the Lord, and from him.

On the *Seventh Day* he went down again (as he usually did) to his Brother's House at *Chalfont*: and in Discourse gave them an Account of my Imprisonment. Whereupon, at his Return, on the *Second Day* of the Week following, my affectionate Friend *Mary Penington* sent me,  
by

1662. by him, *Fourty Shillings*; which he soon after brought me: out of which I would have repaid him the *Twenty Shillings* he had so kindly furnished me with; but he would not admit it, telling me, *I might have Occasion for that, and more, before I got my Liberty.*

Not many Days after this, I received *Twenty Shillings* from my Father; who being then at his House in *Oxfordshire*, and, by Letter from my Sister, understanding that I was a Prisoner in *Bridewell*, sent this Money to me, for my Support there; and withal a Letter to my Sister, for her to deliver to one called Mr. *Wray* (who lived near *Bridewell*, and was a Servant to Sir *Richard Brown*, in some Wharf of his) requesting him to interceed with his Master (who was one of the Governors of *Bridewell*) for my Deliverance. But that Letter coming to my Hands, I supprest it; and have it yet by me.

Now was my Pocket from the lowest Ebb, risen to a full Tide. I was at the Brink of Want, next Door to nothing; yet my Confidence did not fail, nor my Faith stagger: and now on a suddain I had plentiful Supplies, shower upon shower, so that I abounded, yet was not lifted up; but in Humility could say, *This is the LORD's Doing.* And, without defrauding any of the Instruments, of the Acknowledgments due unto them; mine Eye looked over and beyond them, to the LORD, who I saw was the Author thereof, and prime Agent therein; and with a thankful Heart I returned  
Thankf-

Thanksgivings and Praises to him. And this <sup>1662.</sup> great Goodness of the Lord to me, I thus Record, to the End that all, into whose Hands this may come, may be Encouraged to Trust in the Lord; whose Mercy is over all his Works, and who is indeed a God near at hand, to help in the needful time.


Now I durst venture my self into the Club, to which I had been invited; and accordingly (having by this Time gained an Acquaintance with them) took an Opportunity to cast my self among them: and thenceforward, so long as we continued Prisoners there together, I was one of their Mems.

And now the chief thing I wanted, was *Employment*; which scarce any wanted, but my self: for the rest of my Company were generally Tradesmen, of such Trades as could set themselves on work. Of these divers were *Tailors*, some Masters, some Journey-men; and with these I most inclined to settle. But because I was too much a Novice in their Art, to be trusted with their Work: lest I should spoil the Garment: I got Work from an *Hosier* in *Cheap-side*: which was to make *Night-Waistcoats*, of *Red* and *Yellow Flannel*, for Women and Children. And with this I entred my self among the *Tailors*, sitting Cross-leg'd as they did; and so spent those Leisure-Hours, with Innocency and Pleasure, which want of Business would have made tedious. And indeed, that was, in a manner, the only Advantage I had by it: for my Master (though a very wealthy Man, and one

1662. one who professed not only Friendship, but particular Kindness to me) dealt, I thought, -but hardly with me. For (though he knew not what I had to subsist by) he never offered me a Penny for my Work, till I had done Working for him ; and went (after I was released) to give him a Visit; and then he would not Reckon with me neither, *because* (as he smilingly said) *he would not let me so far into his Trade, as to acquaint me with the Prises of the Work ; but would be sure to give me enough.* And thereupon he gave me one Crown Piece, and no more ; tho' I had wrought long for him, and made him many Dozens of *Wastcoats*, and bought the Thread my self: which, I thought. was very poor Pay. But, as Providence had ordered it, I wanted the Work, more than the Wages : and therefore took what he gave me, without Complaining.

About this time (while we were Prisoners in our fair Chamber) a Friend was brought and put in among us ; who had been sent thither by *Richard Brown* to beat Hemp : whose Case was thus.

He was a very poor Man, who lived by Mending *Shoes* ; and on a *Seventh Day* Night late, a Car-Man (or some other, such labouring Man) brought him a pair of *Shoes* to mend, desiring him to mend them that Night, that he might have them in the Morning, for he had no other to wear. The poor Man sate up at work upon them till after Mid-night ; and then finding he could not finish them ; he went  
to

to bed ; intending to do the rest in the <sup>1662.</sup> Morning. 

Accordingly he got up betimes ; and though he wrought as privately as he could in his Chamber, that he might avoid giving Offence to any : yet could he not do it so privately, but that an ill-natur'd Neighbour perceived it, who went and informed against him for working on the *Sunday*. Whereupon he was had before *Richard Brown* ; who Committed him to *Bridewell* for a certain time, to be kept to hard Labour, in Beating Hemp : which is Labour hard enough.

It so fell out, that at the same time were Committed thither (for what Cause I do not now remember) two lusty Young Men who were called *Baptists*, to be kept also at the same Labour.

The Friend was a poor little Man, of a low Condition, and mean Appearance : Whereas these two Baptists were topping Blades, that looked high, and spake big. They scorned to beat Hemp ; and made a *Piss* at the Whipping-Post : but when they had once felt the Smart of it, they soon cried *Peccavi* ; and submitting to the Punishment, set their tender Hands to the Beetles.

The Friend, on the other hand, acting upon a Principle, as knowing he had done no Evil, for which he should undergo that Punishment, refused to work ; and for refusing was cruelly Whipt ; which he bore with wonderful Constancy, and Resolution of Mind.

The

1662. The manner of Whipping there is, To strip  
 W the Party to the Skin, from the Waste upwards;  
 and having fastned him to the Whipping-Post,  
 (so that he can neither resist, nor shun the  
 Strokes) to lash the naked Body, with long,  
 but slender Twigs of Holly, which will bend  
 almost like Thongs, and lap round the Body:  
 and these having little Knots upon them, tear  
 the Skin and Flesh, and give extream Pain.

With these Rods they tormented the Friend  
 most barbarously; and the more, for that, hav-  
 ing mastered the Two braving *Baptists*, they  
 disdained to be mastered by this poor *Quaker*.  
 Yet were they fain at last to yeild, when they  
 saw their utmost Severity could not make him  
 yeild. And then, not willing to be troubled  
 longer with him, they turned him up among us.

When we had enquired of him, how it was  
 with him; and he had given us a brief Ac-  
 count of both his Cause and Usage: it came in  
 my Mind, that I had in my Box (which I had  
 sent for from my Lodging, to keep some few  
 Books, and other Necessaries in) a little Gally-  
 pot with *Lucatellu's-Balsam* in it.

Wherefore, causing a good Fire to be made,  
 and setting the Friend, within a Blanket, before  
 the Fire; we stripped him to the Waste (as if  
 he had been too be Whipt again :) and found  
 his Skin so Cut, and Torn with the knotty  
 Holly-Rods, both Back, Side, Arm and Breast;  
 that it was a dismal Sight to look upon. Then  
 melting some of the Balsam, I with a Feather  
 anointed all the Sores; and putting a softer  
 Cloth



Cloth between his Skin and his Shirt, helped him on with his Cloaths again. This Dressing gave him much Ease; and I continued it till he was well. And because he was a very poor Man, we took him into our Mess; contriving that there should always be enough for him, as well as for our selves. Thus he lived with us, until the time, he was committed for, was Expired; and then he was Released.

But we were still continued Prisoners, by an Arbitrary Power, not being Committed by the Civil Authority, nor having seen the Face of any Civil Magistrate, from the Day we were thrust in here by Soldiers (which was the 26th Day of the Eighth Month) to the 19th of the Tenth Month following.

On that Day we were had to the *Sessions* at the *Old Baily*. But not being called there, we were brought back to *Bridewell*, and continued there to the 29th of the same Month, and then we were carried to the *Sessions* again.

I expected I should have been called the first, because my Name was first taken down: but it proved otherwise, so that I was one of the last that was called; which gave me the Advantage of hearing the Pleas of the other Prisoners, and discovering the Temper of the Court.


The Prisoners complained of the *Illegality* of their Imprisonment, and desired to know *what they had lain so long in Prison for*. The Court regarded nothing of that; and did not stick to

1662 tell them so. For said the Recorder to them,  
 If you think you have been wrongfully Imprisoned;  
 you have your Remedy at Law; and may take it,  
 if you think it worth your while. The Court (said  
 he) may send for any Man out of the Street, and  
 tender him the Oath: So we take no Notice how  
 you came hither; but finding you here, we tender  
 you the Oath of Allegiance: which if you refuse  
 to take, we shall commit you, and at length Pre-  
 munire you. Accordingly, as every one Refused  
 it, he was set aside, and another called.

By this I saw it was in vain for me, to insist  
 upon False Imprisonment, or ask the Cause of  
 my Commitment; though I had before fur-  
 nished my self with some Authorities, and Maxi-  
 ms of Law, on that Subject, to have pleaded,  
 if room had been given; and I had the Book  
 (out of which I took them) in my Bosom; for  
 the Weather being cold, I wore a Gown, girt  
 about the middle, and had put the Book with-  
 in it. But I now resolved to wave all that,  
 and insist upon another Plea; which just then  
 came into my Mind.

As soon therefore as I was called, I stepped  
 nimbly to the Bar, and stood up upon the Step-  
 ping (that I might the better both hear and be  
 heard) and laying my Hands upon the Bar,  
 stood ready, expecting what they would say  
 to me.

I suppose they took me for a confident young  
 Man: for they looked very earnestly upon me;  
 and we faced each other, without Words, for  
 a while. At length the Recorder (who was cal-  
 led

led Sir John Howel) asked me, *If I would take* 1662.  
*the Oath of Allegiance.* 

To which I answered, I conceive this Court hath not Power to tender that Oath to me, in the Condition wherein I stand.

This so unexpected Plea seemed to startle them, so that they looked one upon another; and said somewhat low one to another, *What! doth he demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* And thereupon the Recorder asked me, *Do you then demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court?* Not Absolutely, answered I, but Conditionally; with respect to my present Condition, and the Circumstances I am now under.

*Why, what is your present Condition?* said the Recorder. A Prisoner, replied I. *And what is that,* said he, *to your taking, or not taking the Oath?* Enough (said I, as I conceive) to exempt me from the Tender thereof; while I am under this Condition. *Pray, what is your Reason for that?* said he. This, said I; That, if I rightly understand the Words of the Statute, I am required to say *That I do take this Oath freely, and without Constraint:* which I cannot say, because I am not a Free Man, but in Bonds, and under Constraint. Wherefore I conceive that, if you would tender that Oath to me, ye ought first to set me free from my present Imprisonment.

*But,* said the Recorder, *will you take the Oath if you be set free?* Thou shalt see that, said I, when I am set free. Therefore set me free first, and then ask the Question.

1662. *But, said he again, you know your own Mind sure, and can tell now what you would do, if you were at Liberty.* Yes, replied I, that I can: but I don't hold my self obliged to tell it, until I am at Liberty. Therefore set me at Liberty, and ye shall soon hear it.

Thus we fenced a good while, till I was both weary of such Trifling; and doubted also, lest some of the Standers by should suspect, I would take it; if I was set at Liberty. Wherefore when the *Recorder* put it upon me again, I told him plainly, No; though I thought they ought not to tender it me, till I had been set at Liberty: yet if I was set at Liberty, I could not take that, nor any other Oath, because my Lord and Master, CHRIST JESUS, had expressly Commanded his Disciples *Not to Swear at all.*

As his Command was enough to me: so this Confession of mine was enough to them. *Take him away,* said they; and away I was taken, and thrust into the Bail-Dock: to my other Friends, who had been called before me. And as soon as the rest of our Company were called, and had refused to *Swear*, we were all Committed to *Newgate*: and thrust into the Common Side.

When we came there, we found that Side of the Prison very full of Friends, who were Prisoners there before (as indeed were, at that time all the other Parts of that Prison, and most of the other Prisons about the Town) and our Addition caused a great Throng on that Side. Not-with-

withstanding which, we were kindly welcomed <sup>1662</sup> by our Friends, whom we found there; and entertained by them, as well as their Condition would admit, until we could get in our own Accommodations, and provide for our selves.

We had the Liberty of the Hall (which is on the first story over the Gate, and which, in the Day time, is common to all the Prisoners on that Side, Felons as well as others, to walk in, and to Beg out of;) and we had also the Liberty of some other Rooms over that Hall, to walk or work in, a Days. But in the Night we all Lodged in one Room, which was large and round, having in the Middle of it a great Pillar of Oaken Timber; which bore up the Chapel that is over it.

To this Pillar we fastned our Hammacks at the one End, and to the opposite Wall on the other End, quite round the Room, and in three Degrees, or three Stories high, one over the other: so that they who lay in the Upper and Middle Row of Hammacks, were obliged to go to Bed first, because they were to Climb up to the Higher, by getting into the Lower. And under the Lower Rank of Hammacks, by the Wall-sides were laid Beds upon the Floor; in which the Sick, and such weak Persons as could not get into the Hammacks, lay. And indeed, though the Room was large, and pretty airy: yet the Breath and Steam that came from so many Bodies, of different Ages, Conditions and Constitutions, pack't up so close together, was enough to cause Sicknels amongst us; and

1662. I believe did so. For there were many Sickly and some very weak : though we were not long there, yet in that time one of our Fellow-Prisoners, who lay in one of those Pallet Beds, died.

This caused some Buffle in the House. For the Body of the Deceased, being laid out, and put into a Coffin, was carried down, and set in the Room called the Lodge; that the Coroner might enquire into the Cause and Manner of his Death. And the manner of their doing it, is thus. As soon as the Coroner is come, the Turnkeys run out into the Street under the Gate; and seize upon every Man that passes by, till they have got enough to make up the Coroner's Inquest. And so resolute these rude Fellows are, that if any Man resist, or dispute it with them; they drag him in by main Force, not regarding what Condition he is of. Nay, I have been told, they will not stick to stop a Coach, and pluck the Men out of it.

It so happened, that at this time they lighted on an Ancient Man, a grave Citizen, who was trudging through the Gate in great Haste; and him they laid hold on, telling him *He must come in, and serve upon the Coroner's Inquest.* He pleaded hard, beg'd and besought them to let him go; assuring them *He was going on very urgent Business, and that the stopping him would be greatly to his Prejudice.* But they were deaf to all Intreaties; and harried him in, the poor Man Chafing without Remedy.

When they had got their Complement, and were shut in together, the rest of them said to this

this Ancient Man, *Comp. Father, you are the oldest* 1662  
*Man among us: You shall be our Foreman.* And when the Coroner had Sworn them on the Jury, the Coffin was uncovered, that they might look upon the Body. But the Old Man, disturbed in his Mind at the Interruption they had given him; was grown somewhat fretful upon it: said to them, *To what purpose do you shew us a dead Body here! You would not have us think, sure, that this Man died in this Room? How then shall we be able to judge how this Man came by his Death, unless we see the Place wherein he died, and wherein he hath been kept Prisoner before he died? How know we, but that the Inconmodiousness of the Place wherein he was kept, may have occasioned his Death? Therefore shew us (said he) the place wherein this Man died.*

This much displeased the Keepers; and they began to banter the Old Man, thinking to have beaten him off it. But he stood up titely to them: *Come, come, said he, Though you have made a Fool of me, in bringing me in hither; ye shall not find a Child of me, now I am here. Mistake not your selves: I understand my Place, and your Duty; and I requite you to Conduct me, and my Brethren, to the Place where this Man died: Refuse it at your Peril.*

They now wished they had let the Old Man go about his Business, rather than by troubling him, have brought this Trouble on themselves. But when they saw he persisted in his Resolution, and was peremptory, the Coroner told them, *They must go shew him the Place.*

1662. It was in the Evening when they began this Work; and by this time it was grown Bed-time with us: so that we had taken down our Hammacks (which in the Day were hung up by the Walls) and had made them ready to go into; and were undressing our selves in Readiness to go into them. When on a suddain we heard a great Noise of Tongues, and of Trampilings of Feet, coming up towards us. And by and by One of the Turnkeys, opening our Door, said, *Hold, hold, Don't undress your selves, here's the Coroner's Inquest coming to see you.*

As soon as they were come to the Door (for within the Door there was scarce room for them to come) the Foreman, who led them, lifting up his Hand, said, *Lord bleß me, what a Sight is here! I did not think there had been so much Cruelty in the Hearts of Englishmen, to use Englishmen in this manner! We need not now question (said he to the rest of the Jury) how this Man came by his Death: We may rather wonder that they are not all dead: for this Place is enough to breed an Infection among them. Well, added he, If it please God to lengthen my Life till to Morrow, I will find means to let the KING know how his Subjects are dealt with.*

Whether he did so, or no; I cannot tell; but I am apt to think that he applied himself to the Mayor, or the Sheriffs of London. For the next Day, one of the Sheriffs (called Sir William Turner, a Wollen-Draper in Paul's-Tard) came to the Press-Yard; and having ordered the Porter of Bridewell to attend him there; sent up a  
Turnkey



Turnkey amongst us, to bid all the Bridewell 1662. Prisoners come down to him: for they knew us not; but we knew our own Company.

Being come before him, in the Press-Yard, he looked kindly on us, and spake courteously to us. *Gentlemen*, said he, *I understand the Prison is very full; and I am sorry for it. I wish it were in my Power to release you, and the rest of your Friends that are in it. But since I cannot do that, I am willing to do what I can for you. And therefore I am come hither to enquire how it is; and I would have all you, who came from Bridewell, return thither again; which will be a better Accommodation to you: and your Removal will give the more room to those that are left behind; and here is the Porter of Bridewell, your Old Keeper, to attend you thither.*

We duly acknowledged the Favour of the Sheriff, to us and our Friends above, in this Removal of us; which would give them more Room, and us a better Air. But before we parted from him, I spake particularly to him, on another Occasion: which was this.


When we came into *Newgate*, we found a shabby Fellow there, among the *Friends*; who (upon Inquiry) we understood had thrust himself among our Friends, when they were taken at a Meeting, on purpose to be sent to Prison with them; in hopes to be maintained by them. They knew nothing of him, till they found him shut in with them in the Prison: and then took no Notice of him, as not knowing how or why he came thither. But he soon gave them

1662. them cause to take Notice of him : for where  
 ever he saw any Victuals. brought forth for  
 them to Eat ; he would be sure to thrust in,  
 with Knife in hand, and make himself his own  
 Carver. And so impudent was he, that if he  
 saw the Provision was short ; whoever wanted,  
 he would be sure to take enough.

Thus lived this lazy Drone upon the Labours  
 of the Industrious Bees ; to his high Content,  
 and their no small Trouble : to whom his Com-  
 pany was as Offensive, as his Ravening was  
 Oppressive : nor could they get any Relief, by  
 their complaining of him to the Keepers.

This Fellow, hearing the Notice which was  
 given, for the *Bridewell*-Men to go down, in  
 order to be removed to *Bridewell* again ; and  
 hoping (no Doubt) that fresh Quarters would  
 produce fresh Commons, and that he should  
 fare better with us, than where he was : thrust  
 himself amongst us ; and went down into the  
 Press-Yard with us. Which I knew not of,  
 till I saw him standing there, with his Hat on ;  
 and looking as demurely as he could, that the  
 Sheriff might take him for a *Quaker* : at Sight  
 of which, my Spirit was much stirred.

Wherefore, as soon as the Sheriff had done  
 speaking to us, and we had made our Acknow-  
 ledgment of his Kindness ; I stepped a little nearer  
 to him, and pointing to that Fellow, said, That  
 Man is not only none of our Company, for he  
 is no *Quaker* : but is an idle dissolute Fellow,  
 who hath thrust himself in among our Friends,  
 to be sent to Prison with them, that he might  
 live

live upon them : therefore I desire we may not <sup>1662.</sup> be troubled with him at *Bridewell*. 

At this the Sheriff smiled ; and calling the Fellow forth, said to him, *How came you to be in Prison ?* I was taken at a Meeting, said he, *But what Business had you there ?* said the Sheriff. I went to hear, said he. *Aye, you went upon a worse Design, it seems,* replied the Sheriff ; *but I'll disappoint you,* said he : *for I'll change your Company ; and send you to them that are like your self.* Then calling for the Turnkey, he said, *Take this Fellow, and put him among the Felons ; and be sure let him not trouble the Quakers any more.*

Hitherto this Fellow had stood with his Hat on, as willing to have passed (if he could) for a *Quaker* ; but as soon as he heard this Doom passed on him, off went his Hat : and to bowing and scraping he fell, with *Good your Worship have pity upon me, and set me at Liberty.* No, no, said the Sheriff, *I will not so far disappoint you : since you had a Mind to be in Prison, in Prison you shall be for me.* Then bidding the Turnkey take him away ; he had him up, and put him among the Felons : and so Friends had a good Deliverance from him.

The Sheriff then bidding us Farewel, the Porter of *Bridewell* came to us, and told us, *We knew our Way to Bridewell without him ; and he could trust us : therefore he would not stay nor go with us ; but left us to take our own time ; so we were in before Bed-time.*

Then went we up again to our Friends in *Newgate* ; and gave them an Account of what had  
had

1662. had passed : and having taken a solemn Leave  
of them ; we made up our Packs to be gone.  
But before I pass from *Newgate*, I think it not  
amiss, to give the Reader some little Account  
of what I Observed while I was there.

The common Side of *Newgate* is generally  
accounted, as it really is, the Worst part of that  
Prison ; not so much from the Place, as the  
People : it being usually stocked with the veri-  
est Rogues, and meanest sort of Felons, and  
Pick-Pockets ; who not being able to pay Cham-  
ber-Rent on the Master's Side, are thrust in  
there. And if they come in Bad, to be sure  
they do not go out better : for here they have  
an Opportunity to instruct one another in their  
Art ; and impart each to other what Improve-  
ments they have made therein.

The Common Hall (which is the first Room  
over the Gate) is a good Place to walk in,  
when the Prisoners are out of it (saying the  
danger of catching some Cattle, which they  
may have left in it :) and there I used to walk  
in a Morning, before they were let up ; and  
sometimes in the Day time, when they have  
been there.

They all carried themselves respectfully to-  
wards me ; which I imputed chiefly to this,  
That when any of our Women-Friends came  
there to Visit the Prisoners, if they had not Re-  
lations of their own there, to take care of them :  
I, (as being a young Man, and more at leisure  
than most others, for I could not play the *Taylor*  
there) was forward to go down with them to  
the

the Grate, and see them safe out. And some-<sup>1662.</sup> times they have left Money in my Hands for the Felons (who at such times were very importunate Beggars :) which I forthwith distributed among them in Bread ; which was to be had in the Place. But so troublesome an Office it was, that I thought one had as good have had a Pack of hungry Hounds about one, as these when they knew there was a Dole to be given. Yet this, I think, made them a little the more observant to me ; for they would dispose themselves to one side of the Room, that they might make way for me to walk on the other. And when I walked there, I had usually a Book in my Hand ; on which I had mine Eye : which made them think I did not heed what they said. By this Means, mine Ear being attentive to them, I heard them relate one to another many of their Roguish Pranks.

One Day, as I was thus walking to and fro beside them, I heard them recounting one to another what feats they had done at *Pocket-picking* and *Shop-lifting*. Whereupon, turning short upon them, I asked them, Which of you all will undertake to pick my Pocket ? They were not very forward to Answer ; but viewed me round. I wore a long Gown, which was lap't over before, and tied about the Middle ; and had no Pocket-Holes in it. When they had a while considered it, and I (having taken another Turn) was come up again to them, One of them said, *Why, Master, If you will Promise not to Prosecute us, we will show you a Piece*  
of

1662. of our Skill. Nay, hold there, said I, I won't so far encourage you in Evil, as to promise not to prosecute: and away I turned again; having mine Eye on my Book; but mine Ears to them. And in a while I heard them contriving how they would have done it. I, said one of them, *would give him the Budge; and before he can recover himself, you (said he to another of them) having your Penknife ready, should slit his Gown; and then (said he) let Honey-pot alone for the driving Part.* This Honey-pot was a little Boy (then in Prison with them for Picking a Pocket) who, by his Stature, did not seem to be above Ten, or a Dozen Years old: but for his Dexterity at Pocket-picking, was held to be one of the top of the Trade. As for the Budge, I had had it given me often in the Street; but understood not the Meaning of it till now: and now I found it was a Jostle, enough to throw one almost upon his Nose.

I have sometimes occasionally been in the Hall in an Evening; and have seen the Whores let in unto them (which I take to be a common Practice:) Nasty Sluts indeed they were; and in that respect the more suitable. And as I have passed by them, I have heard the Rogues and they making their Bargains, which and which of them should Company together that Night. Which abominable Wickedness must be imputed to the Dishonesty of the Turnkeys; who, for vile Gain to themselves, not only suffer, but further this Leudness.

These

These are some of the common Evils, which 1661. make the Common Side of *Newgate*, in measure a Type of *HELL* upon *EARTH*. But there was, at that time, something of another Nature, more Particular and Accidental; which was very Offensive to me.

When we came first into *Newgate*, there lay (in a little By-place like a Closet, near the Room where we were Lodged) the Quartered Bodies of three Men; who had been Executed some Days before, for a real or pretended Plot: which was the Ground, or at least Pretext, for that Storm in the City, which had caused this Imprisonment. The Names of these three Men were *Philips*, *Tongue* and *Gibs*: and the Reason why their Quarters lay so long there was, The Relations were all that while Petitioning to have leave to bury them: which at length with much ado was obtained for the Quarters; but not for the Heads, which were Ordered to be set up in some Parts of the City.

I saw the Heads, when they were brought up to be Boyled. The Hangman fetch'd them in a dirty Dust Basket, out of some By-Place; and setting them down amongst the Felons, he and they made Sport with them. They took them by the Hair, Flouting, Jeering and Laughing at them: and then giving them some ill Names, box'd them on the Ears and Cheeks. Which done, the Hangman put them into his Kettle, and parboyl'd them with *Bay-Salt* and *Commion-Seed*: that to keep them from Putrefaction, and this to keep off the Fowls from seizing

1662. seizing on them. The whole Sight (as well  
w that of the Bloody Quarters first, as this of the  
Heads afterwards) was both frightful and  
loathsome; and begat an Abhorrence in my Na-  
ture. Which as it had rendered my Confinement  
there by much the more uneasy: so it  
made our Removal from thence to *Bridewell*,  
even in that respect, the more welcome. Whi-  
ther we now go.

For having (as I hinted before) made up our  
Packs, and taken our Leave of our *Friends*,  
whom we were to leave behind; we took our  
Bundles on our Shoulders, and walked, Two  
and Two a Breast, through the *Old Baily* into  
*Fleet-Street*, and so to *Old Bridewell*. And it  
being about the middle of the Afternoon, and  
the Streets pretty full of People; both the Shop-  
keepers at their Doors, and Passengers in the  
Way, would stop us, and ask us what we were,  
and whither we were going. And when we  
had told them we were Prisoners, going from  
one Prison to another (from *Newgate* to *Bride-  
well*) *What*, said they, *without a Keeper!* No,  
said we, for our Word, which we have given,  
is our Keeper. Some thereupon would advise  
us not to go to Prison, but to go home. But  
we told them, we could not do so: we could  
suffer for our Testimony; but could not fly  
from it. I do not remember we had any Abuse  
offered us: but were generally pitied by the  
People.

When we were come to *Bridewell*; we were  
not put up into the great Room in which we had  
been



been before; but into a low Room in another 1662. fair Court, which had a Pump in the Middle of it. And here we were not shut up as before: but had the Liberty of the Court to walk in, and of the Pump to wash or drink at. And indeed, we might easily have gone quite away (if we would, there was a Passage through the Court into the Street) but we were true and steady Prisoners; and looked upon this Liberty, arising from their Confidence in us, to be a kind of *Paroll* upon us; so that both Conscience and Honour stood now engaged for our true Imprisonment.

Adjoining to this Room, wherein we were, was such another; both newly fitted up for *Work-Houses*, and accordingly furnished with very great Blocks, for Beating Hemp upon, and a lusty Whipping-Post there was in each. And it was said, That *Richard Brown* had Ordered those Blocks to be provided, for the *Quakers* to Work on; resolving to try his Strength with us in that Case: but if that was his Purpose, it was over-ruled; for we never had any Work Offered us, nor were we treated after the Manner of those, that are to be so Used. Yet we set our selves to Work on them; for, being very large, they served the *Tailors* for Shop-boards, and others wrought upon them, as they had Occasion: and they served us very well for Tables to eat on.

We had also besides this Room, the Use of our former Chamber above, to go into when we thought fit: and thither sometimes I with-

1662. drew, when I found a Desire for Retirement and Privacy, or had something on my Mind to write, which could not so well be done in Company. And indeed, about this time my Spirit was more than ordinarily Exercised; though on very different Subjects. For, on the one hand, the Sense of the Exceeding LOVE, and GOODNESS of the LORD to me, in his Gracious and Tender Dealings with me, did deeply affect my Heart; and caused me to break forth in a SONG of THANKSGIVING and PRAISE to Him: And, on the other hand, a Sense of the **Profaneness, Debaucheries, Cruelties**, and other **horrid Impieties** of the AGE, fell heavy on me; and lay as a pressing Weight upon my Spirit. And this drew from me a close *Exprobration*; which my mournful Muse vented in the following Lines: to which I gave for a Title,

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*Speculum*

*Speculum* SECULI:

1662.

OR, A

LOOKING-GLASS

FOR THE

T I M E S.

Which began with this *Expostulatory Preface.*

**W**HAT should my Modest MUSE forbidden be  
 To speak of that which but too many see?  
 Why should she, by Conniving, seem t' uphold  
 Mens Wickedness; and thereby make them bold  
 Still to persist in't? Why should she be shy  
 To call them Beasts, who want Humanity?  
 Why should she any longer Silence keep,  
 And lie secure, as one that's fast asleep?  
 Or, how indeed can it expected be,  
 That she should hold her Tongue, and daily see  
 Those wicked and enormous Crimes committed,  
 Which she, in Modesty, has pretermitted?

N 2

Which

1662. *Which but to name would with their Filth defile  
 Chast. Ears, and cast a Blemish on her Stile.  
 Yet, of so many, she cannot forbear  
 To mention some, which here detected are.*

**L** O U D were the Cries, which long had  
 pierc'd mine Ear:

Foul the Reports, which I did daily hear.  
*Unheard of, new-invented Crimes* were brought,  
 By *Fame* unto my *Knowledge*; which I thought  
 Too foul and loathsome to have found a place  
 In any Heart, though ne'er so void of Grace.  
 This made me take a more observant View,  
 Whether Report spake what of Men is true.

But as the celebrated Southern QUEEN,  
 When she the Court of *Solomon* had seen;  
 And had, with more than usual Diligence,  
 Observ'd his Splendor and Magnificence;  
 Consider'd well his Pomp, his Port, his State,  
 The great Retinue that on him did wait:  
 As one with Admiration fill'd (no doubt  
 Not able longer to contain) burst out  
 Into such Words as these; *Thrice happy KING!*  
*(Whose Fame throughout the Universe doth ring)*  
 Though

*Though of thine Acts I thought Report too bold,*  
*Tet now I see one half hath not been told.* 1662.

Just so did I (though in another kind)  
After I had intently fix'd my Mind  
Upon Mens Actions; and had duly weigh'd  
Not only what they *did*, but what they *said*:  
A while I stood (like one that's struck with  
Thunder)

Fill'd with Astonishment; and silent Wonder.  
At length my Heart, swelling with *Indignation*,  
Vented it self in such an *Exclamation*.

O Hellish Doings! O Infernal Crew!  
Of whom, who says the worst he can, says true.  
O Herd of Lustful Satyrs, Monsters, Brutes!  
(For such a Name to such a Nature suits:)  
What Ink is black enough to write! What Pen  
Fit to delineate such Beasts; not Men!  
Words are too shallow to express the *Rage*,  
The *Fury*, *Madness* of this *Frantick AGE*.  
Numbers fall short to reckon up the *Crimes*,  
Which are the *Recreations* of these Times.

Was *Sodom* ever Guilty of a Sin,  
Which *England* is not now involved in?

1662. By Custom, Drunkenness so common's grown:

That most Men count it a *small Sin*, or *none*,  
*Ranting* and *Roaring* they affirm to be  
 The true Characters of *Gentility*.  
*Swearing* and *Cursing* is so much in Fashion,  
 That 'tis esteem'd a Badge of *Reputation*.  
 What *dreadful Oaths*! What *direful Execrations*  
 On others! On themselves what *Imprecations*  
 They tumble out, like roaring Claps of *Thunder*,  
 As if they meant to rend the Clouds afunder!  
*Mockers* do so abound in ev'ry Place,  
 That rare it is to meet a sober Face.  
*Ambition*, *Boasting*, *Vanity* and *Pride*  
 (With Numbers numberless of Sins beside)  
 Are grown, thro' Use, so common, that Men call  
 Them *Peccadillo's*; small, or none at all.

But, Oh! the *Luxury*, and *great Excess*  
 Which by this wanton Age is us'd in *Dress*!  
 What pains do Men and Women take, alas!  
 To make themselves for arrand *Bedlam's* pass!  
 The *Fool's py'd Coat*, which all Wise Men detest,  
 Is grown a Garment now in great Request.  
 More *Colours* in one *Wastcoat* now they wear,  
 Than in the *Rain-bow* ever did appear;

As if they were ambitious to put on 1662.  
 All Colours that they cast their Eyes upon :  
 Thereby outstripping the *Chamelion* quite,  
 Which cannot change it self to Red or White.  
 Each Man, like *Proteus* his Shape doth change,  
 To whatsoever seemeth new or strange :  
 And he that in a modest Garb is Drest,  
 Is made the Laughing-stock of all the rest.  
 Nor are they with their Baubles satisfied :  
 But *Sex-Distinctions* too are laid aside.  
 The Women wear the *Trowsies* and the *Vest* :  
 While Men in *Muffs*, *Fans*, *Petticoats* are drest.  
 Some Women (Oh, the Shame!) like ramping  
 Rigs,  
 Ride flaunting in their Powder'd *Periwigs* :  
 Astride they sit (and not ashamed neither)  
 Drest up like Men, in *Jacket*, *Cap* and *Feather*.  
 All things to *Lust* and *Wantonneß* are fitted :  
 Nothing that tends to *Vanity* omitted.  
 To give a Touch on every *Antick Fashion*  
 Which hath been worn of late within this  
 Nation,  
 Might fill a *Volume*, which would tire, no doubt,  
 The READER'S *Patience*, if not wear it out.  
 N 4 Come

1662. Come now, ye *ranting Gallants* of the Times,  
 Who nothing have to boast of, but your *Crimes*;  
 Ye *Satan's Hectors*, who disdain to Swear  
 An Oath beneath **God damn me if he dare.**

*Blasphemous Wretches!* whose *Impieties*,  
 With rude Assaults, have storm'd the very *Skies*,  
 And dar'd the *God of Heaven*, a dreadful Stroke  
 Shall ye receive, by which ye shall be broke:  
 And in the fiery Lake those Torments find,  
 Which for such *Defferado's* are assign'd.

And ye, who take so great delight to Curse,  
 As that you think your selves a deal the worse;  
 Unless unto the highest Strain ye swell,  
 And with the *Devil* make you Bed in Hell:  
 This know, the long provoked God is come,  
 From whom ye must receive that dreadful Doom;  
*Depart, ye Cursed, and for ever dwell,*  
*Where Beds of Torment are prepar'd, in Hell.*

'Twas wonderful to see in what a Trice,  
 This Zealous Nation was o'er-run with *Vice*.  
 As when the boyling Gulf, with furious Gales  
 Puff't up, o'erflows its Banks, and drowns the  
 Vales;

And



And when again it Ebbs, it leaves (we find)  
A loathsome Scum, and noisome Stink behind

1662.

W

So great was, in a Word, the Wickedness  
Of that black Day; such the uncurb'd Excess;  
As if the Fatal Hour had then been come,  
For the Deliv'ry of Hells pregnant Womb;  
And that the Devil had a Patent got,  
To vend whatever Merchandize he brought:  
Or that *Pandora's* Box (which POETS feign  
Did all *Calamities* in it contain)  
Had then been newly op'ned; and from thence  
Had flutter'd out this raging Pestilence;  
Which since, the common Body hath o'erspread  
With such a Lep'rous Scab from Foot to Head;  
That 'tis a lamentable Sight to see,  
How each Sex, old and young, debauched be.

A sort of Men have over-run this Nation,  
Who are a Burthen to the whole Creation:  
*Men* shall I call them, or the *Viper's Brood*?  
*Lovers* of Evil: *Haters* of all Good.

These, swell'd with Envy, in a great Despight  
To *Christ*, with *Fist of Wickedness* do smite  
(Not their own *Fellow-Servants*; for they are  
The *Devil's Slaves*, by him bor'd thro' the Ear:

But

1662. But) *God's Ambassadors*, whom he hath sent  
 To warn them of their Sins, and cry, *Repent*;  
 Or to denounce his *Judgments* against those,  
 That set themselves his *Message* to oppose.  
 These Persecute the Innocent, and say,  
*When they are gone, 'twill be a merry Day.*  
 These grind the Poor; The Needy these Oppress;  
 Widows devour; Tread on the Fatherless.  
 Far from themselves they put the Evil Day;  
 Remove impending *Judgments* far away:  
 And yet in vain they strive t'escape the Stroke  
 Of that just God whom boldly they provoke.  
 For they afflict his People; slay his Sheep:  
 Beat those whom he appointed hath to keep  
 And feed his tender Lambs; rend, tear, devour,  
 Suppress God's Worship to their utmost Pow'r.  
 A Cursed Generation, who are bent  
 To spare the *Wicked*; slay the *Innocent*:  
 Whose Blood doth Cry, whose Blood doth Cry  
 aloud,  
 As loud as *Abel's*, pierceth thro' the Cloud;  
 Presents it self before the Judgment-Seat,  
 And Justice doth of the just Judge intreat,

That

That speedy Vengeance he will take on all,  
Who Persecute his *Saints*, and them Enthrall. 1662.

Nor is He deaf; its Cry with him prevails:  
And He hath promised (who never fails  
In the Performance) that he will arise,  
And put a Period to their Cruelties:  
And that he will, with more than winged Speed,  
Send Comfort to his poor afflicted Seed;  
Which under *Pharaoh's* heavy Yoke hath groan'd,  
And in *Captivity* it self bemoan'd.

O Bloody Sin of *Persecution*!

'Tis thou that pluckest Judgments down upon  
The Heads of *Kings, Princes, Plebeians*, All  
That Act thee, and by thee the *Saints* enthrall.  
This is *that Sin, that Sin* which Cries aloud;  
Louder than all the rest, *The Guilt of Blood*:  
Which is the strongest Cord the Devil hath  
To draw down on Mankind *God's heavy Wrath*,  
Weeping I sigh, and sighing weep to see  
The Rod, which God prepared hath for thee,  
O *England*, who dost evilly intreat  
His *Messengers*; and dost his *Prophets* beat.

Ah, *England*, Ah, poor *England*, I bewail  
Thy sad Estate: O that I might prevail

1662. In my Desires for thee! Then shouldst thou be  
 As full of Joy, as now of Misery.

For then should Plenty in thy Fields be found,  
 And all thy *Garners* should with Grain abound:  
 Then Peace, long-lasting Peace should in thee  
 dwell;


For God would all thine *Enemies* repel:  
 And he himself would take delight in thee;  
 So Thou the Glory of the World wouldst be.

But, ah, alas! small Hope I have to see  
 Such happy Symptoms of good Health in thee.  
 No, No, sad Isle, my Reason it doth tell me,  
 That all the Crosses, which have yet beset thee,  
 Are but an Earnest of that dreadful Day,  
 Wherein God will upon thy Head repay  
 Wrath, Fury, Vengeance and Destruction;  
 The just Reward of Persecution.

The due Consideration of thy State,  
 And thine (I fear) inevitable Fate,  
 Doth move my Heart with *Pity* and *Compassion*;  
 And leads me to this short *Expostulation*.

Who to the Eye gave Sight? what shall not he  
 The Cruel Sufferings of his People see?

And

And shall not he that formed hath the Ear, 1662.  
The mournful Groans of his *dear Children* hear?   
Are Men so stupid grown, they think G O D's  
Blind?

Or that he doth not heed? or cannot find  
A way, to ease the Suff'rings of his Seed?  
Whose Cry unto him is, *Father, with speed*  
*Arise, arise; Rend thou the Clouds, Descend:*  
*Avenge us of our Enemies, Defend*  
*Us from their Cruelties; and let them see*  
*Thy Care of us, exceeds our Love to Thee.*

Nor are these Sighs in vain: for he indeed  
Is rising, yea is ris'n, our Cause to plead  
In *Righteousness*; and henceforth us who kicks,  
Shall know 'tis *hard to kick against the Pricks.*

Be warned then ye *Rulers*, and let all  
Of whatsoever Rank, both great and small,  
Tremble before the Lord; and cease to Rage  
Against our God's peculiar Heritage.  
For, of a Truth, his long-provoked Hand  
Is stretched out, in Judgment, o'er this Land;  
And ye must feel it: for he hath decreed,  
To vindicate his long-oppressed Seed.

1662. And in his Fury, he will Vengeance take  
 In our Behalfts, who suffer for his sake.  
 Then shall ye know, That he, who sits on high,  
 Regards us as the Apple of his Eye.

To this, occasionally I subjoined a POST-  
 SCRIPT, thus.

SINCE what precedes was written, I  
 have found

An Accusation form'd, but without Ground,  
 Against me, That *with uncontrouled Pen,*  
*I too severely lash the Faults of Men:*  
*And take upon me, in Satyrick Rhimes,*  
*To pass a rigid Censure on the Times.*  
 This drew me on to add another Line,  
 To shew them that the Fault's their own,  
 not mine.

No Crime can justly to my charge be laid:  
 Unless it be a Crime, *That Truth be said.*  
 Nor can, without Injustice, any blame  
 My Muse, for Echoing the Common Fame.

If any should Object, *That wise Men hold,*  
*That Truth at all times ought not to be told.*

Nor

Nor that *whatever comes into ones Head* 1662.  
*Should straight, because 'tis true, be published.* W  
I readily assent, because I know  
Pearls before Swine we are forbid to through.  
Some Truths, I grant, may better be conceal'd,  
Than if they out of Season were reveal'd.  
Yet would I not that any, through Mistake,  
Should of my Words a Misconstruction make.  
Than that should happen, I had rather be  
Tax't by the Reader for *Prolixity*.

Thus then, in brief, would I be understood.  
If what I know, concerns my Brother's good,  
For him to know : Ought I not then unfold  
It to him, rather than from him with-hold  
A Benefit? So on the other side,  
It is, I think, too plain to be deny'd,  
That if I see what certainly doth tend  
To the Hurt of my Neighbour, or my Friend;  
I am oblig'd, by *Christian Charity*,  
To give them warning of the danger nigh :  
To shew them, that they stand upon the brink  
Of certain Ruin ; and if then they sink,

1662. By wilful Running on, I shall be free  
 From Guilt, their Blood on their own Heads  
 will be.

'Tis plain I think ; yet if ye can't believe it

\* *Levit.* Without a Scripture-Proof, lo, here \* I give it.

19. 17.

*Ezek.* 33

This is the very Case ; which, if well weigh'd,  
 Will fully justifie what I have said.

I saw Men Running to a Precipice,  
 At Foot of which was such a vast Abyfs  
 As could have swallow'd Nations ; so immense  
 That 'twas impossible to climb out thence.

For if a Man, we see, but chance to pitch,  
 O'er Head and Ears, into some miry Ditch ;  
 How quickly is he smothered, unless

Some Friendly Hand assist in that distress !  
 And if, with struggling, out at length he get ;  
 Yet how besmear'd is he with Dirt, and wet !  
 But into this deep Pit who falls, in vain  
 Expects an Hand, to help him out again.

No, 'tis of Grace that Men forewarned are,  
 And, e'er their Feet are taken, *shew'd the Snare.*

And warned they must be. For so was I  
 While roving in their Paths of *Vanity* :

Toil'd



Toil'd and bewild'red in a dismal Night  
Of thick *Egyptian* Darkness, from the Light. 1662.  
From whence the Lord hath, by his Love, me  
drawn,

And in my Heart hath caus'd his Day to dawn,  
His glorious Day, his never-setting Sun  
To Rise, and darkness to Expel begun:  
This Love, as it arises, warms my Heart,  
And fills it with Desires to impart  
To others of its Goodness; that none may  
For want of good Direction, miss their Way.

Know therefore thou, who hitherto hast spent  
Thy Time in *Vanity*, and wholly bent  
Thy utmost Strength, thy Lusts to satisfy,  
And surfeit, with Delights, thy wanton Eye;  
The Lord hath in thy *Conscience* plac'd a *Light*,  
To teach thee how to guide thy Steps aright.  
This checks when into Evil thou hast run:  
And gives thee warning, e'er thou hast begun.  
Hast thou not heard, when in thy full Career,  
Something within thee say, *What do I here?*  
And when thy Mind is cool, another Day,  
Doth it not sometimes cause thee thus to say;

1662. *O that I had not run into Excess!*

*O that I had not done this Wickedness!*

*My Conscience tells me that I have done ill,*

*In yielding to my own corrupted Will:*

*And though no Eye did see me, yet my Heart*

*I feel is full of Torment, Pain and Smart.*

*Were it to do again, I'd have more Care,*

*And not run wilfully into the Snare.*

Consider what that is, which thus doth raise

A Trouble in thee for thy Evil Ways.

And what that is, which many times doth  
grieve thee;

And often makes thee Cry out, *God forgive me.*

When thus it checks thee next, strait call  
to Mind,

That Word, Thine Ear shall hear a Voice  
behind

Thee, saying *Hither turn; this is the way,*

When to the Right, or Left, thou go'st astray.

And having heard, Obedience forthwith give

To its Reproof: *Hear, and thy Soul shall live.*

For were Men subject to *Christ's Light within,*

It certainly would lead Men out of Sin,

And,

And, thro' *Believing*, bring them into Heav'n: 1662  
 For that's the End, for which by him 'tis giv'n. *W*

Thus have I faithfully discharg'd a Part,  
 Which long lay as a weight upon my Heart:  
 Regardless of what Danger may ensue,  
 For seasonably speaking what is true.  
 And if ungrateful Men shall ill requite  
 My signal Love, with Enmity and Spight:  
 I let them know, That my undaunted Pen  
 Scorns the contracted Brows of angry Men.  
 Prepar'd I am to suffer with Content,  
 The worst that cancr'd Malice can invent:  
 Which is no more than to my Lord besel,  
 To *Suffer* Evil things for *Doing* well.

*Bona agere, & Mala pati, Regium est.*

To suffer Evil, for Well-doing, brings  
 The Sufferer to share Renown with Kings.

After I had, in the foregoing *POEM*, somewhat eased my Spirit of that; which, for some-time, had lain as a Load upon me: I breathed forth the following *HTMN* to God, in Acknowledgment of his great Goodness to me, Profession of my grateful Love to Him; and Supplication to Him, for the Continuance of  
 O 2 his

1662. his Kindness to me, in Preserving me from the  
 ↳ Snares of the Enemy, and keeping me faithful  
 unto Himself.

**T**H-E E, thee alone, O God, I fear  
 In thee do I confide :  
 Thy Presence is to me more dear  
 Than all things else beside.  
 Thy Vertue, Power, Life and Light,  
 Which in my Heart do shine ;  
 Above all things are my delight :  
 O make them always mine !  
 Thy matchless Love constrains my Life,  
 Thy Life constrains my Love,  
 To be to thee as chaste a Wife,  
 As is the Turtle-Dove  
 To her elect, espoused Mate,  
 Whom she will not forsake :  
 Nor can be brought to violate  
 The Bond she once did make.  
 Just so my Soul doth cleave to thee,  
 As to her only Head ;  
 With whom she longs conjoin'd to be  
 In Bond of Marriage-Bed.

But

But, ah, alas! her little Fort

1662.

Is compassed about

Her Foes about her thick resort,

Within, and eke without.

How numerous are they now grown!

How wicked their Intent!

O let thy mighty Power be shown,

Their Mischief to prevent!

They make Assaults on ev'ry side,

But thou stand'st in the Gap:

Their Batt'ring-Rams make Breaches wide,

But still thou mak'st them up.

Sometimes they use alluring Wiles,

To draw into their Pow'r:

And sometimes weep, like *Crocodiles*;

But all is to devour.

Thus they beset my feeble Heart

With Fraud, Deceit and Guile:

Alluring her from thee to start,

And thy pure Rest defile.

But oh! the Breathing and the Moan,

The Sighings of the Seed;

The Groanings of the Grieved One,

Do Sorrows in me breed.

1662. And that Immortal, Holy Birth,  
 The Off-spring of thy Breath,  
 (To whom thy Love brings Life and Mirth  
 As doth thy Absence, Death :)  
 That Babe, that Seed, that panting Child,  
 Which cannot thee forsake,  
 In fear to be again beguil'd,  
 Doth Supplication make ;  
 O suffer not thy Chosen One,  
 Who puts her Trust in thee,  
 And hath made thee her Choice alone,  
 Ensnar'd again to be.

*Bridewell, London :*


1662.

In this sort did I spend some leisure Hours,  
 during my Confinement in *Bridewell* ; especially  
 after our return from *Newgate* thither ; when  
 we had more Liberty, and more Opportunity  
 and Room for Retirement and Thought. For,  
 as the Poet said,

*Carmina Scribentes Secessum & Otia querunt.*

They who would write in Measure,  
 Retire, where they may stillness have, and Lei-  
 (sure.

And

And this Priviledge we enjoyed, by the Indul- 1662.  
gence of our Keeper, whose Heart God disposed   
to Favour us. So that both the Master and his  
Porter were very civil, and kind to us; and  
had been so indeed all along. For when we  
were shut up before, the Porter would readily  
let some of us go home in an Evening, and stay  
at Home till next Morning, which was a great  
Conveniency to Men of Trade and Business:  
which I being free from, forbore asking for my  
self; that I might not hinder others.

This he observed, and asked me when I  
meant to ask to go out. I told him, I had not,  
much Occasion, nor Desire; yet at sometime or  
other, perhaps, I might have: but when I had,  
I would ask him but once; and if he then de-  
nied me, I would ask him no more.

After we were come back from *Newgate*, I  
had a Desire to go thither again, to visit my  
*Friends* who were Prisoners there; more espe-  
cially my dear Friend (and Father in *Christ*)  
*Edward Burrough*, who was then a Prisoner;  
with many *Friends* more, in that Part of *New-*  
*gate*, which was then called *Justice-Hall*.  
Whereupon the Porter coming in my way, I  
asked him to let me go out for an Hour or two,  
to see some *Friends* of mine that Evening.

He to enhance the Kindness, made it a matter  
of some Difficulty; and would have me stay  
till another Night. I told him, I would be at  
a Word with him: for as I had told him before,  
that if he denied me, I would ask him no  
more; so he should find I would keep to it.

1662. He was no sooner gone out of my Sight, but I espied his Master crossing the Court. Wherefore stepping to him, I asked him, If he was willing to let me go out for a little while, to see some Friends of mine that Evening. *Yes*, said he, *very willing*; and thereupon away walked I to *Newgate*; where having spent the Evening among *Friends*, I returned in good time.

Under this easie Restraint we lay, till the Court sate at the *Old-Baily* again: And then, whether it was that the Heat of the Storm was somewhat abated, or by what other means Providence wrought it, I know not; we were called to the Bar, and without further Question, discharged.

Whereupon we returned to *Bridewell* again, and having raised some Monies among us, and therewith gratified both the Master and his Porter, for their Kindness to us; we spent sometime in a solemn Meeting, to return our thankful Acknowledgement to the LORD, both for His Preservation of us in Prison, and Deliverance of us out of it: and then taking a solemn Farewel of each other, we departed with Bag and Baggage. And I took care to return my Hammack to the Owner; with due Acknowledgement of his great Kindness, in lending it me.

Being now at Liberty, I visited more generally my Friends that were still in Prison; and more particularly my Friend and Benefactor, *William Penington*, at his House: and then went to wait upon my Master *Milton*. With whom yet



yet I could not propose to enter upon my inter- 1662  
mitted Studies, until I had been in *Buckingham-*  
*shire*, to visit my worthy Friends *Isaac Penington*,  
and his Virtuous Wife; with other Friends in  
that Country.

Thither therefore I betook my self, and the  
Weather being Frosty, and the Ways, by that  
means, clean and good; I walked it thorow in  
a Day: and was received by my Friends there,  
with such Demonstration of hearty Kindness,  
as made my Journey very easie to me.

I had spent in my Imprisonment that Twen-  
ty Shillings, which I had received of *William*  
*Penington*; and Twenty of the Fourty, which  
had been sent me from *Mary Penington*, and had  
the Remainder then about me. That therefore  
I now returned to her, with due Acknowledge-  
ment of her Husband's and her great Care of  
me, and Liberality to me, in the time of my  
Need. She would have had me kept it. But  
I beg'd her to accept it from me again; since it  
was the Redundancy of their Kindness, and  
the other Part had answered the Occasion, for  
which it was sent: and my Importunity pre-  
vailed.

I intended only a Visit hither, not a Conti-  
nuance: and therefore purposed, after I had  
staid a few Days, to return to my Lodging,  
and former Course in *London*: but Providence  
ordered it otherwise.

*Isaac Penington* had at that time two Sons  
and one Daughter (all then very young) of  
whom the Eldest Son (*John Penington*) and the  
Daugh-

1662. Daughter (*Mary*, the Wife of *Daniel Wharley*)  
 are yet living at the writing of this. And being  
 himself both Skilful and Curious in *Pronouncia-*  
*tion*; he was very desirous to have them well  
 grounded in the *Rudiments of the English Tongue*:  
 to which End he had sent for a Man out of *Lan-*  
*cashire* (whom, upon enquiry, he had heard of)  
 who was undoubtedly the most accurate *Eng-*  
*lish Teacher*, that ever I met with, or have  
 heard of. His Name was *Richard Bradley*.  
 But as he pretended no higher than the *English*  
*Tongue*; and had led them, by *Grammar Rules*,  
 to the highest Improvement they were capable  
 of in that: he had then taken his Leave of  
 them, and was gone up to *London*, to Teach an  
*English School of Friends Children* there.

This put my Friend to a fresh Straight. He  
 had sought for a New Teacher, to instruct his  
 Children in the *Latin Tongue*, as the Old had  
 done in the *English*: but had not yet found one.  
 Wherefore one Evening as we sate together by  
 the Fire in his Bed-Chamber (which, for want  
 of Health, he kept) He asked me (his Wife  
 being by) *If I would be so kind to him, as to stay a*  
*while with him, till he could hear of such a Man as*  
*he aimed at; and in the mean time enter his Chil-*  
*dren in the Rudiments of the Latin Tongue.*

This Question was not more unexpected,  
 than surprizing to me; and the more, because  
 it seemed directly to thwart my former Pur-  
 pose, and Undertaking, of endeavouring to  
 improve my self by following my Studies with  
 my Master *Milton*: which this would give at  
 least

least a present Diversion from; and for how long I could not foresee. 1662.

But the Sense I had of the manifold Obligations I lay under to these worthy Friends of mine, shut out all Reasonings; and disposed my Mind to an absolute Resignation to their Desire; that I might testify my Gratitude, by a Willingness to do them any friendly Service, that I could be capable of.

And though I questioned my Ability to carry on that Work, to its due Height and Proportion; yet as that was not proposed, but an Initiation only, by *Accidence* into *Grammar*: I consented to the Proposal, as a present Expedient (till a more qualified Person should be found;) without further Treaty, or mention of Terms between us, than that of mutual Friendship. And to render this Digression from my own Studies the less uneasy to my Mind, I recollected (and often thought of) that Rule in *Lilly*,

*Qui docet indoctos, licet indoctissimus esset,  
Ipse brevi reliquis doctior esse queat.*

He that th' Unlearn'd doth teach, may  
quickly be  
More Learn'd than they, though most  
Unlearned He.

With this Consideration I undertook this Province; and left it not until I Married: which was not till the Year 1669, near Seven Years

1662. Years from the time I came thither. In which time, having the Use of my Friends Books, as well as of mine own, I spent my leasure Hours much in Reading; not without some improvement to my self in my private Studies; which (with the good Success of my Labours bestowed on the Children, and the Agreeableness of Conversation, which I found in the Family;) rendered my Undertaking more Satisfactory, and my Stay there more easie to me.

But, alas! not many Days (not to say Weeks) had I been there; ere we were almost overwhelmed with Sorrow, for the unexpected Loss of *Edward Burrough*, who was justly very dear to us all.

This not only Good, but Great-good Man, by a long and close Confinement in *Newgate*, through the Cruel Malice, and Malicious Cruelty of *Richard Brown*, was taken away by hasty Death, to the unutterable Grief of very many, and unspeakable Loss to the CHURCH of CHRIST in general.

The particular Obligation I had to him as the immediate Instrument of my Conyincement; and high Affection for him, resulting therefrom, did so deeply affect my Mind; that it was some pretty time, before my Passion could prevail, to express it self in Words: so true I found that of the *Tragician*,

*Cura leves loquuntur,  
Ingentes Stupent.*

Light Grievs break forth, and easily get vent, 1662.  
Great Ones are, thro' Amazement, closely pent.

At length my MUSE, not bearing to be any longer mute, brake forth in the following ACROSTICK; which she called

*A Pathetick ELEGY on  
the Death of that dear, and  
faithful Servant of GOD,  
EDWARD BURROUGH.  
Who died the 14th of the  
12th Month, 1662.*

And thus she Introduceth it.

**H**OW long shall Grief lie smother'd! Ah,  
how long

Shall Sorrow's Signet seal my silent Tongue!

How long shall Sighs me suffocate! And make  
My Lips to quiver, and my Heart to ake!

How long shall I, with Pain, suppress my Cries!  
And seek for Holes to wipe my wat'ry Eyes!

Why may not I, by Sorrow thus oppress,  
Pour forth my Grief into another's Breast!

IF

1662. If that be true which once was said by one,

*\* Ille do-*  
*let were,*  
*qui sine*  
*Teste*  
*dolet.* That \* *He mourns truly, who doth Mourn alone :*

Then may I truly say, My Grief is true

Since it hath yet been known to very few.

Nor is it now mine Aim to make it known

To those, to whom these Verses may be shown :

But to Assuage my Sorrow-swollen Heart,

Which Silence caus'd to taste so deep of Smart.

This is my End, that so I may prevent

The Vessel's Bursting, by a timely vent.

————— *Quis talia fando*

*Temperet à Lacrymis ! ———*

Who can forbear, when such things spoke he  
 hears,

His Grave to Water with a Flood of Tears.

*E* cho ye Woods : Resound ye hallow Places.

*L* et Tears and Paleness cover all Mens Faces.

*L* et Groans like Claps of Thunder, pierce the Air :

*W* hile I the Cause of my just Grief declare.

*O* that mine Eyes could, like the Streams of Nile,

*O* 'erflow their watry Banks : and thou, mean while,

*D* rink in my trick'ling Tears, *O* thirsty Ground ;

*S* o might'st thou henceforth fruitfuller be found.

*L*ament,

Lament, my Soul, Lament; thy Loss is deep: 1662.  
 And all that Sion love sit down and weep.  
 Mourn, O ye Virgins: And let Sorrow be  
 Each Damſel's Dowry: And (alas, for me!)  
 N'er let my Sobs and Sighings have an End,  
 Till I again embrace m' aſcended Friend;  
 And till I feel the Virtue of his Life  
 To Conſolate me, and Repreſs my Grief:  
 I nſuſe into my Heart the Oyl of Gladneſs  
 Once more, and by its ſtrength remove that Sadneſs  
 Now preſſing down my Spirit, and Reſtore

Fully that Joy I had in him before.  
 Of whom a Word I ſain would ſtammer forth;  
 Rather to eaſe my Heart, than ſhew his Worth:

His Worth, my Grief, which words too ſhallow are }  
 In Demonſtration fully to declare. }  
 Sighs, Sobs, my beſt Interpreters now are. }

Envy be gone. Black Momus quit the place.  
 N'er more, Zoilus, ſhew thy wrinkled Face.

1662. D raw near, ye bleeding Hearts, whose Sorrows are

E qual with mine; in him ye had like Share.

A dd all your Losses up, and ye shall see

R emainder will be nought but ~~none~~ is me.

E ndeared Lambs, ye that have the white Stone.

D o know full well his Name, It is your own.

E ternitiz'd be that right-worthy Name:

D eath hath but kill'd his Body, not his Fame:

W hich in its Brightness shall for ever dwell;

A nd, like a Box of Ointment, sweetly smell.

R ighteousness was his Robe; bright Majesty

D ecked his Brow: His Look was Heavenly.

B old was he in his Master's Quarrel, and

U ndaunted; Faithful to his Lord's Command.

R equiting Good for Ill: Directing all

R ight in the Way that leads out of the Fall.

O pen and free to ev'ry thirsty Lamb:

U nspotted, pure, clean, holy; without Blame.

G lory, Light, Splendor, Lustre was his Crown.

H appy his Change to him: The Loss our own.



Unica post Cineres Virtus veneranda beatos 1662.  
Efficit. ———

*Virtue alone (which Rev'rence ought to have)  
Doth make Men happy, e'en beyond the Grave.*

While I had thus been breathing forth my  
Grief, ,  
In hopes thereby to get me some Relief;  
I heard, methought, his Voice say, *Cease to  
Mourn :*  
*I Live. And though the Vail of Flesh once worn,*  
*Be now stript off, dissolv'd and laid aside,*  
*My Spirit's with thee ; and shall so abide.*  
This satisfy'd me : Down I threw my Quill :  
Willing to be resign'd to GOD's pure Will.

Having discharged this Duty to the Memory 1663.  
of my deceased Friend, I went on in my new  
Province, Instructing my little Pupils in the  
Rudiments of the *Latin Tongue* ; to the mutual  
Satisfaction of both their Parents and my self. As  
soon as I had gotten a little Money in my Poc-  
ket (which, as a *Premium* without Compact I  
received from them) I took the first Opportu-  
nity to return to my Friend *William Penington*  
the Money which he had so kindly furnished  
me with in my need, at the time of my Im-  
P  
prison-

1663. imprisonment in *Bridewell*; with a due Acknowledgement of my Obligation to him for it. He was not at all forward to receive it: so that I was fain to press it upon him.

While thus I remained in this Family, various Suspensions arose in the Minds of some concerning me, with respect to *Mary Penington's* fair Daughter *Gali*. For she having now arrived to a Marriageable Age; and being in all respects a very desirable Woman (whether regard was had to her outward Person, which wanted nothing to render her compleatly Comely: or to the Endowments of her Mind, which were every way Extraordinary, and highly Obliging; or to her outward Fortune, which was fair (and which with some hath not the last, nor the least place in Consideration:) she was openly, and secretly sought, and solicited by many; and some of them almost of every Rank and Condition; Good and Bad, Rich and Poor, Friend and Foe. To whom, in their respective turns (till he at length came, for whom she was reserved) she carried her self with so much Evenness of Temper, such courteous Freedom, guarded with the strictest Modesty: that as it gave Encouragement, or ground of Hopes to none; so neither did it administer any matter of Offence, or just Cause of Complaint to any.

But such as were thus either engaged for themselves, or desirous to make themselves Advocates for others, could not, I observed, but look upon me with an Eye of Jealousie and Fear;

Fear; that I would improve the Opportunities I had, by frequent and familiar Conversation with her, to my own Advantage, in working my self into her good Opinion and Favour, to the Ruin of their Pretences.

According therefore to the several Kinds and Degrees of their Fears of me, they suggested to her Parents their ill Surmises against me.

Some stuck not to question the Sincerity of my Intentions, in Coming at first among the Quakers; urging, with a *why may it not be so? That the Desire and Hopes of obtaining, by that means, so fair a Fortune, might be the prime and chief Inducement to me, to thrust my self amongst that People.* But this Surmise could find no place, with those worthy Friends of mine (her Father in Law, and her Mother) who, besides the clear Sense, and sound Judgment they had in themselves, knew very well upon what Terms I came among them, how straight and hard the Passage was to me, how contrary to all worldly Interest (which lay fair another way) how much I had suffered from my Father for it, and how regardless I had been of Attempting, or seeking any thing of that Nature, in these three or four Years that I had been amongst them.

Some others, measuring me by the Propensity of their own Inclinations, concluded I would Steal her, run away with her, and Marry her. Which they thought I might be the more easily induced to do, from the advantageous Opportunities I frequently had, of riding

1663. and walking abroad with her, by Night as well  
as by Day, without any other Company than  
her Maid. For so great indeed was the Confidence that her Mother had in me; that she thought her Daughter safe, if I was with her, even from the Plots and Designs that others had upon her. And so Honourable were the Thoughts she entertained concerning me, as would not suffer her to admit a Suspicion, that I could be capable of so much Baseness, as to betray the Trust she, with so great Freedom, reposed in me.

I was not Ignorant of the various Fears, which filled the jealous Heads of some concerning me, neither was I so stupid, nor so divested of all Humanity, as not to be sensible of the real and innate Worth, and Vertue, which adorned that excellent Dame; and attracted the Eyes and Hearts of so many, with the greatest Importunity to seek and solicit her: Nor was I so devoid of Natural Heat, as not to feel some Sparklings of Desire, as well as others. But the Force of TRUTH, and Sense of Honour, suppressed whatever would have risen beyond the Bounds of fair and vertuous Friendship. For I easily foresaw, that if I should have attempted any thing, in a dishonourable way, by Force or Fraud, upon her; I should have thereby brought a Wound upon mine own Soul, a foul Scandal upon my Religious Profession, and an infamous Stain upon mine Honour: either of which was far more dear unto me than my Life. Wherefore having observed how some others  
had

had befool'd themselves, by misconstruing her 1663.  
common Kindness, (expressed in an innocent,  
open, free and familiar Conversation, springing  
from the abundant Affability, Courtesy and  
Sweetness of her natural Temper), to be the  
Effect of a singular Regard and peculiar Affection  
to them: I resolved to shun the Rock, on  
which I had seen so many run and split; and remembering that Saying of the POET,

*Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula, cautum.*

————— Happy's He,  
Whom others Dangers wary make to be.

I governed my self, in a free, yet respectful Carriage towards her, that I thereby both preserved a fair Reputation with my Friends, and Enjoyed as much of her Favour and Kindness, in a virtuous and firm Friendship, as was fit for her to shew, or for me to seek.

Thus leading a quiet and contented Life, I had Leisure sometimes to write a Copy of Verses, on one Occasion or another, as the *Poetick Vein* naturally opened, without taking Pains to polish them. Such was this which follows; occasioned by the suddain Death of some lusty People in their full Strength.

1662.

## EPIGRAM VITA caduca.

**A**S is the fragrant Flower in the Field,  
Which in the Spring a pleasant Smell  
doth yield,

And lovely Sight; but soon is withered:  
So's MAN; to Day alive, to Morrow dead.

And as the Silver-dew-bespangled Grass,  
Which in the Morn bedecks its Mothers Face:  
But e're the scorching Summer's past, looks  
brown;

Or by the Syth is suddenly cut down.

Just such is Man, who vaunts himself to day,  
Decking himself in all his best Array:  
But in the midst of all his Bravery,  
Death rounds him in the Ear, *Friend, thou*  
*must Dye.*

Or like a Shadow in a Sunny Day,  
Which in a Moment vanisheth away;  
Or like a Smile, or Spark; such is the Span  
Of Life, allow'd this *Microcosm*, M A N.

Cease

Cease then vain Man to boast: for this is true, 1663  
*Thy brightest Glory's as the Morning Dew;*  
 Which disappears when first the rising Sun  
 Displays his Beams above the Horizon.

As the Consideration of the *Uncertainty* of  
 HUMAN LIFE drew the foregoing  
 Lines from me: so the Sense I had of the *FOL-*  
*LY* of MANKIND, in mis-spending the  
 little Time allow'd them, in Evil Ways, and  
 vain Sports, led me more particularly to trace  
 the several Courses, wherein the Generallity of  
 Men run, unprofitably at best, if not to their  
 Hurt and Ruin. Which I introduced with that  
 Axiom of the Preacher, *Ecclef. 1. 2.*

## ALL IS VANITY.

*See here the State of MAN as in a Glass:  
 And how the Fashion of this World doth pass.*

SOME in a Tavern spend the longest Day:  
 While others Hawk and Hunt the Time  
 away.

Here one his Mistress Courts; Another Dances:  
 A Third incites to Lust by wanton Glances.

1663. This wastes the Day in *Dressing* ; Th'other seeks

To set fresh colours on her with'ed *Cheeks* :

That, when the Sun declines, some dapper *Spark*

May take her to *Spring-Garden*, or the *Park*.

*Plays* some frequent, and *Balls* : Others their

*Prime*

Consume at *Dice* ; Some *Bowl* away their *Time*.

With *Cards* some wholly captivated are :

From *Tables* others scarce an Hour can spare.

One to soft *Musick* mancipates his Ear :

At *Shovel-board* another spends the Year,

The *Pall-Mall* this accounts the only Sport :

That keeps a *Racket* in the *Tennis-Court*.

Some strain their very Eyes and Throats with

*Singing*.

While others strip their Hands and Backs at

*Ring*ing.

Another sort with greedy Eyes are waiting

Either at *Cockpit*, or some great *Bull-baiting*.

This dotes on *Running-Horses* : T'other Fool

Is never well, but in the *Fencing-School*.

*Wrestling* and *Football*, *Ninepins*, *Prison-base*,

Among the rural *Clowns* find each a place.



Nay *Joan* unwash'd will leave her Milking-Pail, 1663.  
 To Dance at *May-Pole*, or a *Whitsun-Ale*,  
 Thus wallow most in *Sensual Delight*,  
 As if their Day should never have a Night:  
 Till *Nature's* pale-fac'd *Serjeant* them surprize:  
 And as the Tree then falls, just so it lies.

Now look at home, thou who these Lines  
 dost Read;  
 See which of all these Paths thy self dost tread:  
 And e're it be too late that Path forsake,  
 Which, follow'd, will thee Miserable make.

After I had thus enumerated some of the many Vanities, in which the Generality of Men, mis-spent their Time, I sang the following ODE in Praise of VERTUE.

WEALTH, Beauty, Pleasures, Honours,  
 all adieu:

I value *Vertue* far, far more than you.

Y<sup>e</sup> are all but Toys

For Girls and Boys

To play withal; at best deceitful Joys.

She lives for ever: ye are transitory.

Her Honour is unstained; but your Glory

Is

1662.

W

Is meer Deceit;

A painted Bait,

Hung out for such as sit at Bolly's Gate.

True Peace, Content and Joy on her attend:

You (on the contrary) your Forces bend

To blear Mens Eyes,

With Fopperies;

Which Fools Embrace, but Wiser Men Despise.

1664.

About this time my Father, resolving to sell his *Estate*, and having reserved for his own use such parts of his Household-Goods, as he thought fit; not willing to take upon himself the Trouble of selling the Rest, gave them unto me. Whereupon I went down to *Crovel*, and having before given Notice there, and thereabouts, that I intended a Publick Sale of them, I Sold them; and thereby put some Money into my Pocket. Yet I Sold such things only as I judged Useful; leaving the *Pictures* and *Armour* (of which there was some store there) unsold.

Not long after this, my Father sent for me to come to him at *London* about some Business; which, when I came there, I understood was, to joyn with him in the Sale of his Estate: Which the Purchaser required for his own Satisfaction and Safety; I being then the next Heir to it in Law. And although I might probably have made some Advantageous Terms for my self, by standing off; yet when I was satisfied by

Coun-

Counsel, that there was no Entail upon it, or 1664! Right of Reversion to me; but that he might Lawfully dispose of it, as he pleased; I readily joyned with him in the Sale, without asking, or having the least Gratuity, or Compensation; no, not so much as the Fee I had given to Counsel, to secure me from any Danger in doing it.

There having been, some time before this, a 1665. very severe Law made against the *Quakers* by Name; and more particularly, Prohibiting our Meetings under the sharpest Penalties, of *Five Pounds* for the first Offence so called, *Ten Pounds* for the Second, and *Banishment* for the Third; under pain of *Felony* for Escaping, or Returning without *License*. Which Law, was looked upon to have been procured by the *Bishops*, in order to bring us to a Conformity to their way of *Worship*: I wrote a few Lines in way of *Dialogue* between a *Bishop* and a *Quaker*, which I called,

## CONFORMITY *Preft and Represt.*

B. **W**HAT! You are one of them that do deny  
To yield Obedience by Conformity.

Q. Nay: We desire Conformable to be.

B. But unto what? Q. The Image of the Son.

Rom. 8.  
19.

B. What's that to us! We'll have Conformity  
Unto our Form. Q. Then we shall ne'er  
have done.

For,

1665.

W

For, if your fickle Minds should alter, we  
 Should be to seek a New Conformity,  
 Thus who to Day Conform to *Prelacy*,  
 To Morrow may Conform to *Popery*.  
 But take this for an Answer, *Bishop*, we  
 Cannot Conform either to Them, or Thee.  
 For while to *Truth* your Forms are opposite,  
 Whoe'er Conforms thereto doth not aright.

B. *We'll make such Knaves as you Conform, or lie  
 Confin'd in Prisons till ye Rot, and Die.*

Q. Well, gentle *Bishop*, I may live to see,  
 For all thy Threats, a Check to Cruelty;  
 And thee, Rewarded, with thy envious  
 Crew,

According as unto your Works is due:  
 But, in the mean time, I, for my Defence,  
 Betake me to my Fortrefs, PATIENCE:

No sooner was this Cruel Law made, but it  
 was put in Execution with great Severity. The  
 sense whereof, working strongly on my Spirit,  
 made me Cry earnestly to the Lord; that he  
 would Arise, and set up his Righteous Judg-  
 ment in the Earth, for the Deliverance of his  
 People from all their Enemies, both Inward  
 and Outward: And in these Terms I uttered it.  
 Awake,

**A** Wake, awake, O Arm o'th' Lord awake; <sup>1665.</sup>  
Thy Sword up take:

Cast what would thine forgetful of thee make,  
Into the Lake.

Awake, I Pray, O mighty *Jah*, awake;  
Make all the World before thy Presence quake:  
Not only Earth, but Heaven also shake.

Arise, arise, O *Jacob's* God, arise;  
And hear the Cries

Of ev'ry Soul, which in Distress now lies,  
And to thee Flies.

Arise, I Pray, O *Israel's* Hope arise;  
Set free thy Seed, Opprest by Enemies.  
Why should they over it still Tyrannize!

Make Speed, make Speed, O *Israel's* Help, make  
In time of Need: (Speed;  
For Evil Men have Wickedly decreed  
Against thy Seed.

Make Speed, I Pray, O mighty God, make Speed;  
Let all thy *Lambs* from Savage *Wolves* be freed,  
That fearless on thy Mountain they may Feed.

Ride on, Ride on, thou Valiant Man of Might,  
And put to Flight

Those

1665. Those Sons of *Belial*, who do Despight

To the Upright.

Ride on, I say, Thou Champion, and Smite  
Thine and thy Peoples Enemies with such  
Might,

That none may dare 'gainst thee, or thine, to  
Fight.

Although the Storm, raised by the Act for  
*Banishment*, fell with the greatest Weight and  
Force upon some other Parts (as at *London*,  
*Hertford*, &c.) Yet we were not, in *Bucking-*  
*hamshire*, wholly exempted therefrom, for a  
part of that Shower reached us also.

For a Friend of *Amersham* (whose Name was  
*Edward Perbt*, or *Parrot*) departing this Life,  
and Notice being given, that his Body would  
be Buried there on such a Day (which was  
the Fifth Day of the Fifth Month, 1665.) the  
Friends of the adjacent parts of the Country re-  
sorted pretty generally to the Burial: So that  
there was a fair Appearance of Friends and  
Neighbours, the Deceased having been well be-  
loved by both.

After we had spent some time together in the  
House (*Morgan Watkins*, who at that time hap-  
pen'd to be at *Isaac Penington's*, being with us)  
the Body was taken up, and born on Friends  
Shoulders along the Street, in order to be Car-  
ried to the Burying Ground, which was at the

Towns

Towns End : being part of an *Orchard* belonging to the Deceased ; which he in his Life time, had appointed for that Service.

It so happened, that one *Ambrose Benett*, a *Barister* at Law, and a *Justice* of the Peace for that County, Riding through the Town that Morning in his way to *Alesbury*, was by some ill-disposed Person or other, Informed, that there was a *Quaker* to be Buried there that Day ; and that most of the *Quakers* in the Country were come thither to the Burial.

Upon this he set up his Horses, and staid ; and when we (not knowing any thing of his Design against us) went Innocently forward, to perform our Christian Duty, for the Interment of our *Friend*, He rushed out of his Inn upon us, with the Constables, and a Rabble of Rude Fellows, whom he had gathered together ; and having his drawn Sword in his Hand, Struck one of the Foremost of the Bearers with it, Commanding them to set down the Coffin. But the *Friend* who was so stricken (whose Name was *Thomas Dell*) being more concerned for the safety of the Dead Body, than his own, lest it should fall from his Shoulder, and any Indecency thereupon follow ; held the Coffin fast : Which the *Justice* observing, and being enraged that his Word (how unjust soever) was not forthwith Obeyed, set his Hand to the Coffin, and with a forcible Thrust threw it off from the Bearers Shoulders, so that it fell to the Ground in the midst of the Street, and there we were forced to leave it.

For

1665. For immediately thereupon, the Justice giving Command for the Apprehending us, the Constables with the Rabble fell on us; and drew some, and drove others into the Inn; giving thereby an Opportunity to the rest to walk away.

Of those that were thus taken, I was one. And being, with many more, put into a Room, under a Guard; we were kept there till another Justice (called Sir *Thomas Clayton*, whom Justice *Benett* had sent for to joyn with him in Committing us) was come. And then, being called forth severally before them, they picked out Ten of us, and Committed us to *Alesbury* Goal, for what neither we nor they knew: For we were not Convicted of having either done, or said any thing, which the Law could take hold of: For they took us up in the open Street (the King's High-way) not doing any Unlawful Act; but peaceably Carrying and Accompanying the Corps of our Deceased Friend, to Bury it. Which they would not suffer us to do; but caused the Body to lie in the open Street, and in the Cart-way; so that all the Travellers that passed by (whether *Horse-Men*, *Coaches*, *Carts*, or *Waggons*) were fain to break out of the Way, to go by it, that they might not drive over it, until it was almost Night. And then, having caused a Grave to be made in the *Unconsecrated* part (as it is accounted) of that which is called the *Church-Yard*, they forcibly took the Body from the Widow (whose Right and Property it was) and Buried it there.

When



When the *Justices* had delivered us Prisoners 1665. to the *Constable*, it being then late in the Day, which was the Seventh Day of the Week; He (not willing to go so far as *Alesbury* (Nine long Miles) with us that Night, nor to put the Town to the Charge of keeping us there that Night, and the first Day and Night following) Dismissed us upon our *Parole* to come to him again at a set Hour on the Second Day Morning: Whereupon we all went home to our respective Habitations; and coming to him punctually according to Promise, were by him (without Guard) Conducted to the Prison.

The Goaler (whose Name was *Nathaniel Birch*) had not long before behaved himself very Wickedly, with great Rudeness and Cruelty, to some of our *Friends* of the lower side of the County; whom he (Combining with the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Henry Wells*) had contrived to get into his Goal, and after they were legally Discharged in Court, detained them in Prison, using great Violence, and shutting them up close in the Common Goal among the Felons, because they would not give him his Unrighteous Demand of *Fees*; which they were the more straightned in, from his Treacherous Dealing with them. And they having, through Suffering, maintained their Freedom, and obtained their Liberty. We were the more concerned to keep, what they had so hardly gained; and therefore resolved not to make any Contract or Terms for either

1665. *Chamber-Rent or Fees*, but to Demand a *Free* Prison; which we did.

When we came in, the Goaler was Ridden out, to Wait on the Judges (who came in that Day to begin the Affize;) and his Wife was somewhat at a Loss how to deal with us: But being a cunning Woman, she treated us with great Appearance of Courtesy, offering us the Choice of all her Rooms; and when we asked, upon what Terms, she still refer'd us to her Husband, telling us, she did not doubt but that he would be very Reasonable, and Civil to us. Thus she endeavoured to have drawn us to take Possession of some of her Chambers at a venture, and trust to her Husbonds kind Usage. But we, who at the Cost of our *Friends*, had a Proof of his Kindness, were too wary to be drawn in by the fair Words of a Woman: and therefore told her, we would not settle any where till her Husband came Home; and then would have a Free Prison, wheresoever he put us.

Accordingly, Walking all together into the Court of the Prison, in which was a Well of very good Water; and having before hand sent to a *Friend* in the Town (a Widow Woman, whose Name was *Sarah Lambarn*) to bring us some *Bread* and *Cheese*, we sat down upon the Ground, round about the Well; and when we had Eaten, we Drank of the Water out of the Well.

Our great Concern was for our Friend *Isaac Penington*, because of the Tenderness of his  
Consti-

Constitution : But he was so lively in his Spirit, 1665. and so cheerfully given up to Suffer, that he rather encouraged us, than needed any Encouragement from us.

In this Posture the Goaler, when he came home, found us ; and having before he came to us, consulted his Wife, and by her understood on what Terms we stood : When he came to us, he hid his Teeth, and putting on a shew of Kindness, seemed much troubled that we should sit there abroad, especially his old Friend, Mr. Penington ; and thereupon invited us to come in, and take what Rooms in his House we pleased ; we asked, upon what Terms ; letting him know withal, that we determined to have a Free Prison.

He, like the *Sun* and *Wind* in the *Fable*, that strove which of them should take from the Traveller his *Cloak* ; having (like the *Wind*) tried rough, boisterous, violent Means to our *Friends* before, but in vain : resolved now to imitate the *Sun*, and shine as pleasantly as he could upon us. Wherefore he told us, we should *make the Terms our selves, and be as free as we desired : If we thought fit, when we were Released to give him any thing, he would thank us for it ; and if not, he would Demand nothing.*

Upon these Terms we went in, and disposed our selves ; some in the *Dwelling-House*, others in the *Malt-House*, where they chose to be.

During the Affize, we were brought before Judge Morton (a Sowre Angry Man) who very rudely Reviled us, but would not hear either us

1665. or the Cause; but referred the matter to the  
 Two Justices who had Committed us.

They, when the Assize was ended, sent for us to be brought before them at their Inn; and Fined us (as I remember) *Six Shillings Eight Pence* a piece; which we not consenting to Pay, they Committed us to Prison again for one Month from that time, on the Act for *Banishment*.

When we had lain there that Month, I (with another) went to the Goaler, to Demand our Liberty: Which he readily granted; telling us, *The Door should be opened, when we pleased to go.*

This Answer of his I reported to the rest of my *Friends* there, and thereupon we raised among us a small Sum of Money, which they put into my Hand, for the Goaler: Whereupon I (taking another with me) went to the Goaler with the Money in my Hand; and reminding him of the Terms upon which we accepted the use of his Rooms, I told him, That although we could not pay *Chamber-Rent* or *Fees*: Yet inasmuch as he had now been Civil to us, we were willing to acknowledge it by a small Token; and thereupon gave him the Money. He putting it into his Pocket, said, *I thank you and your Friends for it: and to let you see I take it as a Gift, not a Debt, I will not look on it, to see how much it is.*

The Prison Door being then set open for us, we went out, and departed to our respective Homes.

But before I left the Prison, considering one Day with my self the different Kinds of Liberty

ty and Confinement, Freedom and Bondage, 1665.  
I took my Pen, and wrote the following *Enig-*  
*ma*, or *Riddle*.

**L**OE here a Riddle to the Wife,  
In which a Mystery there lies:  
Read it therefore with that Eye,  
Which can discern a Mystery.

**The RIDDLE.**

*Some Men are Free, while they in Prison Lie:  
Others, who ne'r saw Prison, Captives Die.*

**CAUTION.**

He that can receive it, may ;  
He that cannot, Let him stay :  
And not be hasty, but suspend  
His Judgment, till he sees the End.

**SOLUTION.**

*He only's free indeed, that's free from Sin :  
And he is fastest bound, that's bound therein.*

**CONCLUSION.**

This is the Liberty I chiefly Prize :  
The other, without this, I can despise.

1665. Some little time before I went to *Alesbury* Prison, I was desired by my quondam Master *Milton* to take an House for him, in the Neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might go out of the City, for the Safety of himself and his Family, the *Pestilence* then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles-Chalfont*, a Mile from me; of which I gave him notice: and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it; but was prevented by that Imprisonment.

But now being released, and returned Home, I soon made a Visit to him, to welcome him into the Country.

After some common Discourses had passed between us, he called for a Manuscript of his; which being brought he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my Leisure. and when I had so done, return it to him, with my Judgment thereupon.

When I came home, and had set my self to read it, I found it was that Excellent POEM, which he entituled *PARADISE LOST*. After I had, with the best Attention, read it through, I made him another Visit, and returned him his Book, with due Acknowledgement of the Favour he had done me, in Communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly but freely told him: and after some further Discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*; but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made me

me no Answer, but sate some time in a Muse: 1665. then brake off that Discourse, and fell upon another Subject.

After the Sicknes was over, and the City well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there (which I seldom failed of doing, whenever my Occasions drew me to *London*) he shewed me his Second POEM, called *PARADISE REGAINED*; and in a pleasant Tone said to me, *This is owing to you: for you put it into my Head, by the Question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of.* But from this Digression I return to the Family I then lived in.

We had not been long at home (about a Month, perhaps) before *Isaac Penington* was taken out of his House in an Arbitrary manner; by Military Force, and carried Prisoner to *Alesbury* Goal again: where he lay Three Quarters of a Year, with great Hazard of his Life; it being the *Sickness* Year; and the Plague being not only in the Town, but in the Goal.

Mean while his Wife and Family were turned out of his House (called the *Grange* at *Peter's-Chalfont*) by them who had seized upon his Estate. And the Family being by that means broken up, some went one way, others another. *Mary Penington* her self (with her younger Children) went down to her Husband at *Alesbury*. *Guli* (with her Maid) went to *Bristol*, to see her former Maid (*Anne Hersent*) who was Married to a Merchant of that City,

1665. whose Name was *Thomas Biss*, I went to *Alesbury*, with the Children; but not finding the Place agreeable to my Health, I soon left it, and returning to *Chalfont*, took a Lodging, and was dieted in the House of a Friendly Man: and after some time, went to *Bristol*, to Conduct *Guli* home.

Mean while *Mary Penington* took Lodgings in a Farm-House (called *Bottrels*) in the Parish of *Giles-Chalfont*; where, when we returned from *Bristol*, we found her.

We had been there but a very little time, before I was sent to Prison again, upon this Occasion. There was, in those times, a Meeting once a Month, at the House of *George Saltera* Friend of *Hedgerly*; to which we sometimes went: and *Morgan Watkins* being with us, He and I, with *Guli* and her Maid, and one *Judith Parker* (Wife of *Dr. Parker*, one of the Colledge of *Physicians* at *London*) with a Maiden Daughter of theirs (neither of whom were *Quakers*, but as Acquaintance of *Mary Penington* were with her on a Visit) walked over to that Meeting, it being about the Middle of the First Month, and the Weather good.

This Place was about a Mile from the House of *Ambrose Benett*, the Justice, who the Summer before had sent me and some other Friends to *Alesbury* Prison, from the Burial of *Edward Parret* of *Amersham*: And he (by what Means I know not) getting Notice, not only of the Meeting, but (as was supposed) of our being there, came himself to it: and as he came, caught



caught up a Stackwood-stick, big enough to 1665. have knock't any Man down, and brought it with him, hidden under his Cloak.

Being come to the House, he stood for a while without the Door, and out of Sight; listning to hear what was said: for *Morgan* was then speaking in the Meeting. But certainly he heard very imperfectly, if it was true which we heard he said afterwards among his Companions, as an Argument, that *Morgan* was a Jesuit, viz. *That in his Preaching he trolled over his Latin as fluently as ever he heard any one: whereas Morgan (good Man!) was better Versed in Welch, than in Latin; which, I suppose, he had never learned, I am sure he did not understand it.*

When this Martial Justice (who at *Amersham* had with his drawn Sword struck an unarmed Man, who he knew would not strike again) had now stood some time abroad, on a suddain he rushed in among us, with the Stackwood-stick held up in his Hand, ready to strike; crying out, *Make way there*: and an Ancient Woman not getting soon enough out of his way, he struck her with the Stick, a shrewd Blow over the Breast. Then pressing through the Croud to the place where *Morgan* stood, he plucked him from thence; and caused so great a Disorder in the Room, that it brake the Meeting up: yet would not the People go away, or disperse themselves; but tarried to see what the Issue would be.

Then

1665. Then taking Pen and Paper, he sat down at the Table among us; and asked several of us our Names, which we gave and he set down in Writing.

Amongst others he asked *Judith Parker* (the Doctor's Wife) what her Name was; which she readily gave: and thence taking Occasion to discourse him, she so over-mastered him by clear Reason, delivered in fine Language; that he, glad to be rid of her, struck out her Name, and Dismissed her; yet did not she remove, but kept her place amongst us.

When he had taken what Number of Names he thought fit, he singled out half a Dozen; whereof *Morgan* was one, I another, One Man more, and three Women: of which the Woman of the House was one, although her Husband then was (and for divers Years before had been) a Prisoner in the *Fleet* for Tythes, and had no body to take care of his Family and Business, but her his Wife.

Us six he committed to *Alisbury Goal*. Which when the Doctor's Wife heard him read to the Constable, she attacked him again; and having put him in Mind that it was a sickly Time, and that the *Pestilence* was reported to be in that Place; she, in handsome Terms, desired him to Consider in time, *how he would Answer the Cry of our Blood, if by his sending us to be shut up in an Infected Place, we should lose our Lives there.* This made him alter his Purpose, and by a new *Mittimus* sent us to the *House of Correction at Wiscomb*. And although he committed us upon the

the Act for *Banishment*, which limited a certain 1665. time for Imprisonment: yet he, in his *Mittimus*, limited no time, but ordered us to be kept till we should be delivered by due Course of LAW; so little regardful was he, though a Lawyer, of keeping to the Letter of the LAW.

We were committed on the Thirteenth Day of the Month called *March*, 1665. and were kept close Prisoners there till the Seventh Day of the Month called *June*, 1666; which was 1666. some Days above Twelve Weeks: and much above what the Act required.

Then were we sent for to the Justices House, and the rest being Released, *Morgan Watkins* and I were required to find Sureties, for our Appearance at the next *Affize*; which we refusing to do, were committed a-new to our old Prison (the *House of Correction* at *Witcomb*) there to lie until the next *Affizes*: *Morgan* being, in this second *Mittimus*, represented as a *Notorious Offender in Preaching*; and I, as being upon the *second Conviction*, in order to *Banishment*. There we lay, till the Five and Twentieth Day of the same Month; and then, by the Favour of the Earl of *Ancram*, being brought before him at his House, we were discharged from the Prison, upon our Promise to appear (if at Liberty and in Health) at the *Affizes*. Which we did, and were there discharged by Proclamation.

During my Imprisonment in this Prison, I betook my self, for an Employment, to making of Nets for Kitchin-Service, to boil Herbs, &c. in; which Trade I learned of *Morgan Watkins*,  
and

1666. and Selling some, and Giving others, I pretty well stocked the Friends of that Country with them.

Though in that Confinement I was not very well suited with Company for Conversation; *Morgan's* natural Temper not being very agreeable to mine: yet we kept a fair and Brotherly Correspondence, as became Friends, Prison-fellows and Bed-fellows; which we were. And indeed, it was a good Time, I think to us all; for I found it so to me; the Lord being graciously pleased to visit my Soul with the refreshing Dews of his divine Life, whereby my Spirit was more and more quickned to him, and Truth gained ground in me over the Temptations and Snares of the Enemy. Which frequently raised in my Heart Thanksgivings and Praises unto the LORD. And at one time more especially, the Sense I had of the Prosperity of Truth, and the spreading thereof, filling my Heart with abundant Joy, made my Cup overflow, and the following Lines drop out.

*For Truth I suffer Bonds, in Truth I live;  
And unto Truth this Testimony give;  
That TRUTH shall over all Exalted be,  
And in Dominion Reign for evermore;  
The Chila's already born, that this may see;  
Honour, Praise, Glory be to God therefore.*

And

And underneath thus,

1666.

*Tho' Death and Hell should against Truth combine,  
It's Glory shall through all their Darknes shine.*

This I saw with an Eye of Faith, beyond  
the reach of Humane Sense. For.

*As strong Desire  
Draws Objects nigher  
In Apprehension, than indeed they are;  
I, with an Eye  
That pierced high,  
Did thus of Truth's Prosperity declare.*

After we had been discharged at the *Affizes*, I returned to *Isaac Penington's* Family at *Bottrel's* in *Chalfont*; and (as I remember) *Morgan Watkins* with me: leaving *Isaac Penington* a Prisoner in *Alesbury* Goal.

The Lodgings we had in this Farm-House (*Bottrel's*) proving too strait and inconvenient for the Family, I took larger and better Lodgings for them in *Berrie-House* at *Amersham*; whither we went at the time called *Michaelmas*, having spent the Summer at the other Place.

Some time after, was that memorable Meeting appointed to be holden at *London*, through a  
a divine Opening, in the Motion of Life, in  
that eminent Servant and Prophet of God,  
George

1667.

1667. *George Fox*; for the Restoring, and bringing in again those, who had gone out from Truth, and the Holy Unity of Friends therein, by the Means and Ministry of *John Perrot*.

This Man came pretty early amongst *Friends*, and too early took upon him the Ministerial Office: and being, though little in Person, yet great in Opinion of himself, nothing less would serve him than to go and Convert the POPE: In order whereunto, he (having a better Man than himself, *John Luff*, to accompany him) travelled to *Rome*, where they had not been long, e're they were taken up, and clap't into Prison; *Luff* (as I remember) was put in the *Inquisition*, and *Perrot* in their *Bedlam*, or Hospital for Madmen.

*Luff* died in Prison (not without well-grounded Suspicion of being Murthered there) but *Perrot* lay there some time, and now and then sent over an Epistle to be Printed here, written in such an affected and phantastick Stile, as might have induced an indifferent Reader to believe, they had suited the place of his Confinement to his Condition.

After some time, through the Mediation of Friends (who hoped better of him, than he proved) with some Person of Note and Interest there, he was released, and came back for *England*. And the Report of his great Sufferings there (far greater in Report, than in Reality) joined with a singular Shew of Sanctity, so far opened the Hearts of many tender and compassionate Friends towards him, that it gave him

him the Advantage of insinuating himself in- 1667.  
to their Affections and Esteem, and made way  
for the more ready Propagation of that peculiar  
Error of his, of *Keeping on the Hat in time of*  
*Prayer, as well publick as private, unless they had*  
*an immediate Motion at that time to put it off.*

Now although I had not the least Acquaintance with this Man, not having ever exchanged a Word with him (though I knew him by Sight;) nor had I any Esteem of him for either his Natural Parts, or Ministerial Gift, but rather a Dislike of his Aspect, Preaching and way of Writing; yet this Error of his being broached in the Time of my Infancy, and Weakness of Judgment as to Truth (while I lived privately in *London*, and had little Converse with Friends.) I, amongst the many who were catch't in that Snare, was taken with the Notion, as what then seemed, to my weak Understanding, suitable to the Doctrine of a Spiritual Dispensation. And the Matter coming to warm Debates, both in Words and Writing, I, in a misguided Zeal, was ready to have entred the Lists of Contention about it: not then seeing what Spirit it proceeded from, and was managed by; nor foreseeing the Disorder and Confusion in Worship, which must naturally attend it.

But as I had no evil Intention, or sinister End in engaging in it; but was simply betrayed by the specious Pretence and Shew of greater Spirituality: the Lord, in tender Compassion to my Soul, was graciously pleased to open my  
Under-

1667. Understanding, and give me a clear Sight of  
W the Enemies Design in this Work, and drew  
me off from the Practice of it, and to bear  
Testimony against it, as Occasion offered.

But when that solemn Meeting was appointed at *London*, for a Travel in Spirit on behalf of those who had thus gone out, that they might rightly return, and be sensibly received into the Unity of the Body again. My Spirit rejoiced, and with Gladness of Heart I went to it: as did many more of both City and Country; and with great Simplicity, and Humility of Mind, did honestly and openly Acknowledge our Outgoing, and take Condemnation and Shame to our selves. And some that lived at too remote a Distance, in this Nation as well as beyond the Seas, upon Notice given of that Meeting, and the intended Service of it, did the like by Writing, in Letters directed to, and openly read in the Meeting, which for that Purpose was continued many Days.

Thus, in the Motion of Life, were the healing Waters stirred; and many through the Virtuous Power thereof, restored to Soundness: and indeed not many lost. And though most of these, who thus returned, were such as, with my self, had before renounced the Error, and forsaken the Practice: yet did we sensibly find, that Forsaking without Confessing (in Case of publick Scandal) was not sufficient; but that an open Acknowledgment (of open Offences) as well as Forsaking them, was necessary to the obtaining compleat Remission.

Not



Not long after this, G. F. was moved of the 1667. Lord to Travel through the Countries, from County to County, to Advise and Encourage Friends to set up *Monthly* and *Quarterly Meetings*, for the better ordering the Affairs of the Church, in taking Care of the Poor, and Exercising a true Gospel-Discipline, for a due Dealing with any that might walk disorderly under our Name, and to see that such as should Marry among us, did act fairly and clearly in that respect.

When he came into this County, I was one of the many Friends that were with him, at the Meeting for that Purpose. And afterwards 6618. I travelled with *Guli* and her Maid, into the West of *England* to meet him there, and to visit Friends in those Parts: and we went as far as *Topsham* in *Devonshire*, before we found him. He had been in *Cornwall*, and was then returning: and came in unexpectedly at *Topsham*, where we then were providing (if he had not then come thither) to have gone that Day towards *Cornwall*. But after he was come to us, we turned back with him through *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Dorsetshire*; having generally very good Meetings where he was: and the Work, he was chiefly concerned in, went on very prosperously and well, without any Opposition or Dislike: save that in the General Meeting of Friends in *Dorsetshire*, a quarrellous Man, who had gone out from Friends in *John Perrot's* Business, and had not come rightly in again (but continued in the


R

Pra.

1668. Practice of keeping on his Hat in time of Prayer, to the great Trouble and Offence of Friends) began to Cavil, and raise Disputes, which occasioned some Interruption and Disturbance.

Not only *George*, and *Alexander Parker* (who was with him) but divers of the Ancient Friends of that Country, endeavoured to quiet that troublesome Man, and make him sensible of his Error: but his unruly Spirit would still be Opposing what was said unto him, and justifying himself in that Practice. This brought a great Weight and Exercise upon me (who sat at a Distance in the outward Part of the Meeting :) and after I had for some time bore the Burthen thereof, I stood up in the constraining Power of the Lord, and in great Tenderness of Spirit, declared unto the Meeting, and to that Person more particularly, how it had been with me in that respect; how I had been betrayed into that wrong Practice, how strong I had been therein, and how the Lord had been graciously pleased to shew me the Evil thereof, and recover me out of it.

This coming unexpectedly from me, a young Man, a Stranger, and one who had not intermedled with the Business of the Meeting, had that Effect upon the Caviller, that if it did not satisfy him, it did at least silence him, and made him for the Present sink down and be still, without giving any further Disturbance to the Meeting. And the Friends were well pleased with this unlooked for Testimony from me, and

and I was glad that I had that Opportunity to 1668.  
 Confess to the Truth, and to Acknowledge   
 once more, in so publick a manner, the Mercy  
 and Goodness of the Lord to me therein.

By the time we came back from this Journey,  
 the Summer was pretty far gone, and the fol-  
 lowing Winter I spent with the Children of  
 the Family as before, without any remarkable  
 Alteration in my Circumstances, until the  
 next Spring: when I found in my self a Dispo- 1669.  
 sition of Mind, to change my Single Life for  
 a Married State.

I had always entertained so high a Regard  
 for Marriage, as it was a Divine Institution,  
 that I held it not lawful to make it a sort of  
 political Trade to rise in the World by. And  
 therefore as I could not but, in my Judgment,  
 blame such, as I found made it their Business to  
 Hunt after, and endeavour to gain those who  
 were accounted great *Fortunes*; not so much re-  
 garding *What she is*, as *what she has*, but mak-  
 ing Wealth the chief, if not the only thing  
 they Aimed at: so I resolved to avoid, in my  
 own Practice, that Course; and how much so-  
 ever my Condition might have prompted me  
 (as well as others) to seek Advantage that  
 way, never to engage on the Account of *Riches*,  
 nor at all to Marry, till judicious Affection  
 drew me to it, which I now began to feel at  
 Work in my Breast.

The Object of this Affection was a Friend  
 (whose Name was *Mary Ellis*) whom for divers  
 Years I had had an Acquaintance with, in the

1669 way of common Friendship only ; and in whom  
 W I thought I then saw those fair Prints of Truth  
 and solid Virtue, which I afterwards found in  
 a sublime Degree, in her : but what her Con-  
 dition in the World was, as to Estate, I was  
 wholly a Stranger to, nor desired to know.

I had once, a Year or two before, had an  
 Opportunity to do her a small Piece of Service,  
 which she wanted some Assistance in : wherein  
 I acted with all Sincerity, and Freedom of  
 Mind, not expecting, or desiring any Advan-  
 tage by her, or Reward from her ; being very  
 well satisfied in the Act it self, that I had served  
 a Friend, and helped the Helpless.

That little Intercourse of common Kindness  
 between us Ended, without the least Thought  
 (I am verily perswaded, on her Part ; well-as-  
 sured on my own) of any other or further Re-  
 lation, than that of free and fair Friendship :  
 Nor did it, at that time, lead us into any closer  
 Conversation, or more intimate Acquaintance  
 one with the other, than had been before.

But some time (and that a good while) af-  
 ter, I found my Heart secretly drawn, and in-  
 clining towards her : Yet was I not hasty in  
 proposing ; but waited to feel a satisfactory Set-  
 tlement of Mind therein, before I made any  
 step thereto.

After some time, I took an Opportunity to  
 open my Mind therein unto my much honour-  
 ed Friends, *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*, who then  
 stood *Parentum loco*, in the Place or Stead of  
 Parents to me. They having solemnly weigh-  
 ed

ed the Matter, exprest their Unity therewith: 1669. and indeed their Approbation thereof was no small Confirmation to me therein. Yet took I further Deliberation, often retiring in Spirit to the Lord, and Crying to him for Direction, before I addrest my self to her. At length, as I was sitting all alone, waiting upon the Lord for Counsel and Guidance in this (in it self, and) to me so important Affair. I felt a Word sweetly rise in me, as if I had heard a Voice, which said, *Go, and Prevail*. And Faith springing in my Heart with the Word, I immediately arose and went; nothing doubting.

When I was come to her Lodgings (which were about a Mile from me) her Maid told me she was in her Chamber (for having been under some Indisposition of Body, which had obliged her to keep her Chamber, she had not yet left it.) Wherefore I desired the Maid to acquaint her Mistress, that I was come to give her a Visit: Whereupon I was invited to go up to her. And after some little time spent in common Conversation, feeling my Spirit weightily concerned, I solemnly opened my Mind unto her, with respect to the particular Business I came about; which I soon perceived was a great Surprisal to her for she had taken in an Apprehension (as others also had done) that mine Eye had been fixed elsewhere, and nearer Home.

I used not many Words to her: but I felt a Divine Power went along with the Words,

1669. and fixed the Matter expressed by them so fast  
in her Breast, that (as she afterwards acknowledged to me) she could not shut it out.

I made, at that time, but a short Visit. For having told her, I did not expect an Answer from her now; but desired she would, in the most solemn Manner, weigh the Proposal made, and in due time give me such an Answer thereunto, as the Lord should give her: I took my leave of her, and departed; leaving the Issue to the Lord.

I had a Journey then at hand, which I foresaw would take me up about two Weeks time. Wherefore, the Day before I was to set out, I went to visit her again; to acquaint her with my Journey, and excuse my Absence: not yet pressing her for an Answer; but assuring her, that I felt in my self an Increase of Affection to her, and hoped to receive a suitable Return from her in the Lord's time; to whom, in the mean time, I committed both her, my self and the Concern between us. And indeed, I found at my Return, that I could not have left it in a better Hand: for the Lord had been my Advocate in my Absence, and had so far answered all her Objections, that, when I came to her again, she rather acquainted me with them, than urged them.

From that time forwards we Entertained each other with Affectionate Kindness in order to Marriage; which yet we did not hasten to, but went on deliberately. Neither did I use those vulgar ways of Courtship, by making frequent

frequent and rich Presents: Not only for that 1669.  
my Outward Condition would not comport  
with the Expence: But because I liked not to  
obtain by such Means; but preferred an un-  
bribed Affection.

While this Affair stood thus with me, I had  
Occasion to take another Journey into *Kent* and  
*Sussex*: Which yet I would not mention here,  
but for a particular Accident; which befel me  
on the Way.

The Occasion of this Journey was this. *Mary Penington's* Daughter *Guli* intending to go to  
her Uncle *Springett's* in *Sussex*, and from thence  
amongst her Tenants; her Mother desired me  
to accompany her, and assist her in her Busi-  
ness with her Tenants.

We tarried at *London* the first Night, and  
set out next Morning on the *Tunbridge-Road*;  
and *Seven-Oak* lying in our way, we put in  
there to Bait: But truly, we had much ado to  
get either Provisions or Room for our selves,  
or our Horses; the House was so filled with  
Guests, and those not of the better Sort. For  
the Duke of *Tork* being (as we were told) on  
the Road that Day for the *Wells*, divers of his  
*Guards*, and the meaner sort of his *Retinue*,  
had near filled all the *Inns* there.

I left *John Gigger* (who waited on *Guli* in  
this Journey, and was afterwards her menial  
Servant) to take Care for the Horses, while I  
did the like, as well as I could for her. I got  
a little Room to put her into, and having shut  
her into it, went to see what Relief the *Kitchen*  
R 4 would

1669. would afford us: and with much ado, by  
~ Praying hard, and Paying dear, I got a small  
Joint of Meat from the Spit; which served rather to stay, than satisfy our Stomachs; for we were all pretty sharp set.

After this short Repast, being weary of our Quarters, we quickly Mounted, and took the Road again; willing to hasten from a Place, where we found nothing but Rudeness: for the *Roysters*, who at that time swarmed there, besides the Damning Oaths they belched out at one another, looked very sowerly on us, as if they grudged us both the Horses we rode, and the Cloaths we wore.

A Knot of these soon followed us, designing (as we afterwards found) to put an Abuse upon us, and make themselves Sport with us. We had a spot of fine, smooth, sandy Way, whereon the Horses trod so softly that we heard them not, till one of them was upon us. I was then riding a Breast with *Guli*, and discouraging with her; when on a sudden hearing a little Noise, and turning mine Eye that way, I saw an Horseman coming up on the further Side of her Horse, having his left Arm stretched out, just ready to take her about the Waste, and pluck her off backwards from her own Horse, to lay her before him upon his. I had but just time to thrust forth my Stick, between him and her, and bid him stand off: and at the same time reigning my Horse, to let hers go before me, thrust in between her and him; and being better Mounted than he, my Horse  
run



run him off. But his Horse being (tho' weaker than mine, yet) Nimble, he slipt by me, and got up to her on the near Side; endeavouring to offer Abuse to her: To prevent which, I thrust in upon him again, and in our Jostling, we drove her Horse quite out of the Way, and almost into the next Hedge.

While we were thus Contending, I heard a Noise of loud Laughter behind us; and turning my Head that way, I saw three or four Horse-men more, who could scarce sit their Horses for Laughing, to see the Sport their Companion made with us. From thence I saw it was a Plot laid; and that this rude Fellow was not to be dallied with: Wherefore I bestirr'd my self the more to keep him off; Admonishing him to take Warning in time, and give over his Abusiveness, lest he Repented too late. He had in his Hand a short thick Truncheon, which he held up at me; on which laying hold with a strong Gripe, I suddainly wrenched it out of his Hand, and threw it at as far a Distance behind me, as I could.

While he rode back to fetch his Truncheon, I called up honest *John Gigger*; who was indeed a right honest Man, and of a Temper so thoroughly Peaceable, that he had not hitherto put in at all. But now I rouzed him, and bid him ride so close up to his Mistress's Horse, on the further Side, that no Horse might thrust in between; and I would endeavour to Guard the near Side. But he, good Man, not thinking it, perhaps,

1669. perhaps, decent enough for him to Ride so near his Mistress, left room enough for another to Ride between. And indeed, so soon as our Brute had recovered his Truncheon, he came up directly thither; and had thrust in again, had not I, by a nimble turn, chopt in upon him, and kept him at a Bay.

I then told him, I had hitherto spared him; but wish'd him not to Provoke me further. This I spake with such a Tone, as bespake an high Resentment of the Abuse put upon us; and withal pressed so close upon him with my Horse, that I suffered him not to come up any more to *Guli*.

This his Companions (who kept an equal distance behind us) both heard and saw; and thereupon Two of them advancing, came up to us. I then thought I might likely have my Hands full; but Providence turn'd it otherwise. For they, seeing the Contest rise so high, and probably fearing it would rise higher, not knowing where it might stop, came in to part us: Which they did, by taking him away; one of them leading his Horse by the Bridle, and the other driving him on with his Whip, and so carried him off.

One of their Company staid yet behind. And it so happening, that a great Shower just then fell, we betook our selves, for shelter, to a thick and well-spread Oak, which stood hard by. Thither also came that other Person (who wore the Duke's Livery) and while we put on our defensive Garments against the Weather, which then

then set in to be wet, he took the opportunity 1669. to discourse with me about the Man that had been so Rude to us; endeavouring to Excuse him, by alledging that *he had drunk a little too Liberally*. I let him know, that one Vice would not Excuse another; That although but one of them was actually concern'd in the Abuse, yet both He, and the rest of them, were Abettors of it, and Accessories to it; that I was not Ignorant whose Livery they wore, and was well assured, their Lord would not maintain them in committing such Outrages upon Travellers on the Road, to our Injury, and his Dishonour; That I understood the *Duke* was coming down; and that they might expect to be called to an Account for this rude Action.

He then begg'd hard that we would pass by the Offence, and make no Complaint to their Lord: for he knew, he said, *the Duke would be very severe; and it would be the utter Ruin of the Young Man*. When he had said what he could, he went off before us, without any ground given him to expect Favour: And when we had fitted our selves for the Weather, we followed after, our own Pace.

When we came to *Tunbridge*, I set *John Gigger* foremost, bidding him lead on briskly, through the Town; and placing *Guli* in the middle, I came close up after her, that I might both Observe, and Interpose, if any fresh abuse should have been offered her. We were expected, I perceived: for, though it Rained very hard, the Street was thronged with Men; who  
looked

1669. looked very earnestly on us, but did not put any affront upon us.

We had a good way to Ride beyond *Tunbridge*, and beyond the *Wells*, in By-ways, among the Woods; and were the later, for the hinderance we had had on the Way. And when, being come to *Harbert Springett's* House, *Guli* acquainted her Uncle what Danger and Trouble she had gone through on the way; he resented it so high, that he would have had the Persons been Prosecuted for it. But, since Providence had interposed, and so well Preserved and Delivered her, she chose to pass by the Offence.

When *Guli* had finished the Business she went upon, we returned home, and I delivered her safe to her glad Mother. From that time forward, I continued my Visits to my best beloved Friend, untill we Married; which was on the 28th Day of the 8th Month (called *October*) in the Year 1669. We took each other in a Select Meeting, of the Ancient and Grave *Friends* of that Country, holden in a *Friend's* House, where, in those times, not only the Monthly Meeting for Business, but the Publick Meeting for Worship was sometimes kept. A very Solemn Meeting it was, and in a weighty frame of Spirit we were; in which we sensibly felt the Lord with us, and Joyning us: the sense whereof remained with us all our Life time; and was of good Service, and very Comfortable to us on all Occasions.

My next Care, after Marriage, was to Secure to my Wife what Monies she had, and with

with her self, bestowed upon me. For I held it <sup>1669.</sup> would be an Abominable Crime in me, and favour of the highest Ingratitude, if I (though but through Negligence) should leave room for my Father (in case I should be taken away suddenly) to break in upon her Estate; and deprive her of any part of that which had been, and ought to be her own. Wherefore with the first opportunity (as I remember, the very next Day, and before I knew particularly what she had) I made my *Will*; and thereby secured to her whatever I was Possessed of, as well all that which she brought either in Monies, or in Goods, as that little which I had before I Married her: Which indeed was but little, yet more, [by all that Little,] than I had ever given her Ground to expect with me.

She had indeed been Advised by some of her Relations, to secure before Marriage, some part, at least, of what she had, to be at her own disposal. Which (though perhaps not wholly free from some Tincture of Self-Interest in the Proposer) was not, in it self, the worst of Counsel. But the worthyness of her Mind, and the sense of the Ground on which she received me, would not suffer her to entertain any Suspicion of me: And this laid on me the greater Obligation, in point of Gratitude, as well as of Justice, to Regard and Secure her; which I did.

I omitted in its proper place (because I would not break in upon the Discourse I was then upon) to insert a few Lines, which I writ as a Congratulation to an Honoured *Friend*, upon his

1669. his Marriage; and presented him with the next Morning, thus.

MY Heart's affected with a weighty Sense  
Of Yesterdays Proceedings, and from  
thence

Desire arises to CONGRATULATE

My happy *Friend* in his New Married State.  
Not in that strain, wherewith some use to Cloy  
Mens Ears with tedious Peals of giving Joy.  
But, shunning all Extreame, I chuse to tread  
The Middle Path, which doth to *Vertue* lead.


This then my Heart desires for thee, my *Friend*,  
Thy *Nuptial* Joys may never here have End.  
May *Happiness* with thee take up her Rest:  
And sweet *Contentment* always fill thy Breast.  
May God thee bless with numerous Increase:  
And may thy utmost Off-spring rest in Peace.

Accept this Pledge of Love (tho' but a Part  
Of what is Treasur'd for thee in my Heart)  
From him, who herein hath no other End,  
Than to declare himself

Thy faithful Friend.

Stepney, 9th. 2d.  
Month, 1669.

T. E.  
I had

I had not been long Married, before I was 1669-  
solicited, by my dear Friends *Isaac* and *Mary*   
*Penington*, and her Daughter *Guli*, to take a  
Journey into *Kent* and *Sussex*, to Accompt with  
their Tenants, and overlook their Estates in  
those Countries; which, before I was Married,  
I had had the Care of: and accordingly the  
Journey I undertook, though in the depth of  
Winter.

My Travels into those Parts were the more  
irksome to me, from the Solitariness I under-  
went, and want of suitable Society. For my  
Business lying among the Tenants, who were a  
rustick sort of People, of various Perswasions  
and Humours; but not *Friends*: I had little Op-  
portunity of Conversing with *Friends*; though  
I contrived to be with them, as much as I could,  
especially on the First Day of the Week.

But that which made my present Journey  
more heavy to me, was a sorrowful Exercise,  
which was newly fallen upon me from my Fa-  
ther, harder to be born, than any I had ever  
met with before.

He had, upon my first acquainting him with  
my Inclination to Marry, and to whom, not  
only very much approved the Match, and vo-  
luntarily offered, without my either asking or  
expecting, to give me a handsome Portion at pre-  
sent, with Assurance of an Addition to it here-  
after. And he not only made this Offer to me  
in private; but came down from *London* into  
the Country on purpose, to be better acquaint-  
ed with my Friend: and did there make the  
same

1669. same Propofal to her; offering alfo to give Security to any Friend, or Relation of hers, for the Performance. Which Offer ſhe moſt generously declined; leaving him as free as ſhe found him. But after we were Married, notwithstanding ſuch his Promiſe, he wholly declined the Performance of it, under Pretence of our not being Married by the *Prieſt* and *Liturgy*. This Uſage, and Evil Treatment of us thereupon, was a great Trouble to me: and when I endeavoured to Soften him in the matter, he forbid me ſpeaking to him of it any more; and removed his Lodging that I might not find him.

The Grief I conceived on this Occaſion, was not for any Diſappointment to my ſelf, or to my Wife: for neither ſhe nor I had any ſtrict, or neceſſary Dependence upon that Promiſe; but my Grief was partly for the Cauſe aſſigned by him, as the Ground of it: which was, *That our Marriage was not by Prieſt or Liturgy*; and partly for that his lower Circumſtances in the World, might probably tempt him to find ſome ſuch, though Unwarrantable, Excuse to avoid performing his Promiſe.

And ſurely hard would it have been for my Spirit to have born up under the weight of this Exerciſe, had not the LORD been exceeding gracious to me, and ſupported me with the Inflowings of his Love and Life; wherewith he viſited my Soul in my Travel. The Senſe whereof raiſed in my Heart a thankful Remembrance of his manifold Kindneſſes, in his former Dealings with me. And in the Evening,  
when



when I came to my Inn, while Supper was getting ready, I took my Pen, and put into Words, what had in the Day revolved in my Thoughts. And thus it was.

## *A Song of PRAISE.*

THY Love, dear Father, and thy tender Care,

Have in my Heart begot a strong Desire,  
To celebrate thy Name with Praises rare;  
That others too thy Goodness may admire,  
And learn to yield to what thou dost require.

Many have been the Tryals of my Mind,  
My Exercises great, great my Distress;  
Full oft my Ruin hath my Foe design'd:  
My Sorrows then my Pen cannot express;  
Nor could the best of Men afford Redress.

When thus beset, to thee I lift mine Eye,  
And with a mournful Heart my Moan did make:

How oft with Eyes o'erflowing, did I cry,  
*My God, my God, O do me not forsake!*  
*Regard my Tears! Some Pity on me take!*

S

And,

1669. And, to the Glory of thy holy Name,  
 Eternal God, whom I both Love and Fear,  
 I hereby do declare, I never came  
 Before *thy Throne*, and found thee *loath to hear*;  
 But always *ready*, with an open Ear.  
 And tho' sometimes thou seem'st *thy Face to hide*,  
 As one that had *withdrawn thy Love from me*;  
 'Tis that my *Faith* may to the full be try'd,  
 And that I thereby may the better see  
 How weak I am, when not upheld by thee.  
 For underneath thy holy Arm I feel  
 Encompassing with *Strength*, as with a *Wall*:  
 That, if the Enemy trip up my Heel,  
 Thou ready art to save me from a Fall.  
 To thee belong *Thanksgivings* over all.  
 And for thy tender Love, my God, my King,  
 My *Heart* shall magnifie thee, all my Days;  
 My *Tongue* of thy Renown shall daily sing:  
 My *Pen* shall also grateful Trophies raise,  
 As *Monuments* to thy Eternal Praise.

Kent 11th Mo.  
 1669.

T. E.

Having

Having finished my Business in *Kent*, I struck 1669.  
off into *Suffex*; and finding the Enemy endeavouring still more strongly to beset me: I betook my self to the Lord for safety, in whom I knew all help and Strength was; and thus poured forth my Supplication, directed

*To the Holy O N. E.*

**E**TERNAL God, Preserver of all those  
(Without respect of Person, or Degree)  
Who in thy Faithfulness their Trust repose,  
And place their Confidence alone in Thee;  
Be thou my Succour: for thou know'st that I  
On thy Protection, LORD, alone rely.  
Surround me, Father, with thy mighty Pow'r;  
Support me daily by thine Holy Arm:  
Preserve me faithful, in the Evil Hour;  
Stretch forth *thine Hand*, to save me from all  
Harm.

Be thou my *Helmet, Breastplate, Sword and Shield*:  
And make my Foes before thy Power yield.  
Teach me the Spirit'al Battel so to fight,  
That when the Enemy shall me beset;  
Arm'd *Cap-a-Pe*, with th' Armour of thy Light,  
A perfect Conquest o'er him I may get:

1669. And with thy *Battle-Ax* may cleave the *Head*  
Of him, who bites that part whereon I tread.

Then being from *Domestick* Foes set free,

The *Cruelties* of *Men* I shall not fear;

But in thy Quarrel, *Lord*, undaunted be:

And, for thy sake, the Loss of all things bear.

Yea, tho' in *Dungeon* lock'd, with Joy will sing

An ODE of Praise to thee, my *God*, my *King*.

*Suffex*, 11th Mo.

1669.

T. E.

As soon as I had dispatch'd the Business I went about, I returned home without delay; and to my great Comfort, found my Wife well, and my self very welcome to her: both which I esteemed as great Favours.

1670. Towards the latter part of the Summer following, I went into *Kent* again; and in my Passage through *London*, received the unwelcome News of the Loss of a very hopeful Youth, who had formerly been under my Care for Education. It was *Isaac Penington* (the second Son of my worthy Friends *Isaac* and *Mary Penington*) a Child of excellent natural Parts; whose great Abilities bespoke him likely to be a great Man, had he lived to be a Man. He was designed to be bred a *Merchant*; and before he was thought ripe enough to be entred thereunto, his Parents, at some-bodies Request, gave leave that he might

might go a Voyage to *Barbadoes*, only to spend 1670. a little time, see the Place, and be somewhat acquainted with the Sea, under the Care and Conduct of a choice Friend and Sailor, *John Grove* of *London*, who was Master of a Vessel, and Traded to that Island: and a little Venture he had with him, made up by divers of his Friends; and by me among the rest. He made the Voyage thither very well; found the wat'ry Element agreeable; had his Health there; liked the Place; was much pleased with his Entertainment there; and was returning home, with his little Cargo, in Return for the Goods he carried out; when on a suddain, through Unwari-ness, he drop't over Board; and (the Vessel being under Sail, with a brisk Gale) was irrecoverably lost, notwithstanding the utmost Labour, Care and Diligence of the Master, and Sailors to have saved him.

This unhappy Accident took from the afflicted Master all the Pleasure of his Voyage; and he mourn'd for the Loss of this Youth, as if it had been his own, yea, only Son: for 'as he was in himself a Man of a worthy Mind; so the Boy, by his witty and handsome Behaviour in general, and obsequious Carriage towards him in particular, had very much wrought himself into his Favour.

As for me, I thought it one of the sharpest Strokes I had met with: for I both loved the Child very well, and had conceived great hopes of general Good from him; and it pierced me the deeper to think how deeply it would pierce his afflicted Parents.

1670. Sorrow for this Disaster was my Companion  
 W in this Journey, and I travelled the Roads under great Exercise of Mind, revolving in my Thoughts the manifold Accidents, which the *LIFE of Man* was attended with, and subject to, and the great *Uncertainty of all Humane Things*; I could find no Center, no firm Basis for the *Mind of Man* to fix upon, but the *Divine Power and Will of the Almighty*. This Consideration wrought in my Spirit a sort of Contempt of what supposed *Happiness or Pleasure* this World, or the things that are in and of it, can of themselves yield; and raised my Contemplation higher: which, as it ripened, and came to some degree of Digestion, I breathed forth in mournful Accents, thus.

## Solitary THOUGHTS.

*On the Uncertainty of Humane Things.*

Occasioned by the suddain Loss of an  
 HOPEFUL YOUTH.

*Transibunt citò, quæ vos mansura putatis.*

Those things soon will pass away,  
 Which ye think will always stay.

WHAT ground, alas, has any Man  
 To set his Heart on things below:  
 Which, when they seem most like to stand,  
 Fly, like an Arrow from a Bow!

Things

Things subject to exterior Sense      1670.  
 Are to mutation most propence.      ~~~~~  
 If stately Houses we Erect,  
     And therein think to take Delight:  
 On what a suddain are we Check't,  
     And all our Hopes made groundless quite!  
 One little Spark in Ashes lays  
 What we were building half our Days.  
 If on Estate an Eye we cast,  
     And Pleasure there expect to find;  
 A secret Providential Blast  
     Gives Disapointment to our Mind.  
 Who now's on Top, e're long may feel  
 The circling Motion of the Wheel:  
 If we our tender Babes embrace,  
     And Comfort hope in them to have:  
 Alas, in what a little Space,  
     Is Hope, with them, laid in the Grave!  
 Whatever promiseth Content  
 Is, in a Moment, from us rent.  
 This World cannot afford a thing,  
     Which, to a well-composed Mind,  
 Can any lasting Pleasure bring;  
     But in its Womb its Grave will find.

1670. All things unto their Center tend :

What had \* Beginning will have End.

\* Under-  
stand  
this of  
Natural  
Things.

But is there nothing then that's sure,

For Man to fix his Heart upon ?

Nothing that always will endure ;

, When all these transient things are gone ;

Sad State ! where Man, with Grief oppress'd,

Finds nought whereon his Mind may rest.

O yes ! There is a God above,

Who unto Men is also nigh :

On whose unalterable Love

We may with Confidence rely.

No Disappointment can befall

Us, having him that's *All in All*.

If unto him we Faithful be

It is impossible to miss

Of whatsoever he shall see

Conducibile unto our Bliss.

What can of Pleasure him prevent,

Who hath the Fountain of Content ?

In Him alone if we delight,

And in his Precepts Pleasure take ;

We shall be sure to do aright,

'Tis not his Nature to forsake.



A proper Object's He alone,  
For Man to set his Heart upon,

1670.



———— *Domino Mens nixa quieta est.*

*The Mind which upon God is stay'd,  
Shall with no Trouble be dismay'd.*

Kent, 7bris 4to  
1670.

T. E.

A Copy of the foregoing Lines, inclosed in a Letter of *Condoleance*, I sent by the first Post into *Buckinghamshire*, to my dear Friends the afflicted Parents: And upon my Return home, going to visit them, we sat down and solemnly mixed our Sorrows and Tears together.

About this time (as I remember) it was, that some Bickerings happening between some *Baptists*, and some of the People called *Quakers* in or about *High-Wiccomb* in *Buckinghamshire*; occasioned by some reflecting Words a *Baptist*-Preacher had publicly uttered in one of their Meetings there, against the *Quakers* in general, and *W. Penn* in particular: it came, at length, to this Issue, that a Meeting for a publick Dispute was appointed, to be holden at *West-Wiccomb*, between *Jeremy Ives* (who espoused his Brother's Cause) and *W. Penn*.

To this Meeting, it being so near me, I went; rather to Countenance the Cause, than for any Delight I took in such Work: for indeed, I have rarely found the Advantage, equivalent to the Trouble

1670. Trouble and Danger, arising from those Contests.  
 W For which Cause I would not chuse them, as, being justly engaged, I would not refuse them.

The Issue of this proved better than I expected. For *Ives* having undertaken an Ill Cause, to argue against the *Divine Light*, and *Universal Grace*, conferr'd by God on all Men; when he had spent his Stock of Arguments, which he brought with him on that Subject: finding his Work go on heavily, and the Auditory not well satisfied; stept down from his Seat, and departed, with purpose to have broken up the Assembly. But, except some few of his Party, who followed him, the People generally stay'd, and were the more attentive to what was afterwards delivered amongst them. Which *Ives* understanding came in again, and in an angry railing Manner, expressing his Dislike that we went not all away when he did, gave more Disgust to the People.

After the Meeting was ended, I sent to my Friend I. P. (by his Son and Servant, who returned Home, though it was late, that Evening) a short Account of the Business in the following *Distich*.

*Prævaluit VERITAS: Inimici Terga dedere:*  
*Nos sumus in tuto; Laus tribuenda Deo.*

Which may be thus Englished.

*Truth* hath prevail'd; the Enemies did fly:  
 We are in Safety; Praise to God on high.

But

But both they and we had quickly other 1670. Work found us: It soon became a stormy time. The Clouds had been long gathering, and threatened a Tempest. The Parliament had sate some time before, and hatched that unaccountable Law, which was called *The Conventicle Act*: (If that may be allowed to be called a Law, by whomsoever made) which was so directly contrary to the Fundamental Laws of *England*, to common Justice, Equity and right Reason; as this manifestly was. For

1<sup>st</sup>, It brake down and overrun the Bounds and Banks, anciently set for the Defence and Security of *Englishmens* Lives, Liberties and Properties, viz. *Trial by Juries*. Instead thereof directing and authorizing Justices of the Peace (and that too privately, out of *Sessions*) to Convict, Fine, and by their Warrants Distrein upon Offenders against it; directly contrary to the *Great Charter*.

2. By that Act, the Informers (who Swear for their own Advantage, as being thereby entituled to a Third Part of the Fines) were many times concealed, driving on an underhand private Trade: so that Men might be, and often were Convicted and Fined, without having any Notice or Knowledge of it, till the Officers came and took away their Goods, nor even then could they tell by whose Evidence they were convicted. Than which, what could be more opposite to common Justice? which requires that every Man should be openly charged, and have his Accuser Face to Face, that he might both

1670. both Answer for himself before he be convicted, and object to the Validity of the Evidence given against him.

3. By that Act; the Innocent were punished for the Offences of the Guilty. If the Wife or Child was convicted of having been at one of those Assemblies, which by that Act was adjudged Unlawful; the Fine was levied on the Goods of the Husband or Father of such Wife or Child: though he was neither present at such Assembly, nor was of the same Religious Perswasion that they were of; but perhaps an Enemy to it.

4. It was left in the arbitrary Pleasure of the Justices to lay half the Fine for the House or Ground where such Assembly was holden, and half the Fine for a pretended unknown Preacher; and the whole Fines of such and so many of the Meeters as they should account Poor, upon any other or others of the People, who were present at the same Meeting (not exceeding a certain limited Sum;) without any regard to Equity or Reason. And yet (such Blindness doth the *Spirit of Persecution* bring on Men, otherwise sharp sighted enough) that this Unlawful, Unjust, Unequal, Unreasonable and Unrighteous Law took place in (almost) all Places, and was vigorously prosecuted against the Meetings of *Dissenters* in general; though the Brunt of the Storm fell most sharply on the People called *Quakers*: not that it seemed to be more particularly levelled at them: but that they stood more fair, steady and open, as a But to receive all the Shot

Shot that came, while some others found means, 1670.  
and freedom to retire to Coverts for Shelter. ~

No sooner had the Bishops obtained this Law, for suppressing all other Meetings but their own, but some of the Clergy of most Ranks, and some others too, who were over-much bigotted to that Party, bestirr'd themselves with might and main, to find out and Encourage the most profligate Wretches to turn Informers; and to get such Persons into Parochial Offices, as would be most obsequious to their Commands, and ready at their Beck, to put it into the most rigorous Execution. Yet it took not alike in all Places; but some were forwarder in the Work than others, according as the Agents intended to be chiefly imployed therein, had been pre-disposed thereunto.

For in some Parts of the Nation care had been timely taken, by some not of the lowest Rank, to chuse out some particular Persons (Men of sharp Wit, close Countenances, pliant Tempers and deep Dissimulation) and send them forth among the *Sectaries*, so called; with Instructions to thrust themselves into all Societies, Conform to all, or any sort of Religious Profession, *Proteous*-like change their Shapes, and transform themselves from one Religious Appearance to another, as occasion should require. In a word, To be all things to all: not that they might win some; but that they might (if possible) ruin all, at least many.

The Drift of this Design was, That they who imployed them might, by this means, get a full  
Account

1670. Account what Number of *Dissenters Meetings*, of every sort, there were in each County; and where kept: what Number of Persons frequented them, and of what Ranks; who amongst them were Persons of Estate, and where they lived: that when they should afterwards have troubled the Waters, they might the better know where, with most Advantage, to cast their Nets.

He, of these Emisaries, whose Post was assigned him in this County of *Bucks*, adventured to thrust himself upon a *Friend*, under the counterfeit Appearance of a *Quaker*: but being by the Friend suspected, and thereupon dismiss'd unentertain'd, he was forced to betake himself to an Inn or Alehouse for Accommodation. Long he had not been there, ere his unruly Nature (not to be long kept under by the Curb of a feigned Sobriety) broke forth into open Prophaness: so true is that of the POET,

*Naturam expellas furcâ licet, usq; recurret.*

To Fudling now falls he with those whom he found Tippling there before; and who but he amongst them! In him was then made good the Proverb, *In Vino Veritas*: for in his Cups he out with that, which was, no doubt, to have been kept a Secret. 'Twas to his Pot-Companions, that (after his Head was somewhat heated with strong Liquors) he discovered that he was sent forth by Dr. *Mew*, the then Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, on the Design before related, and under the Protection of Justice *Morton*, a Warrant

Warrant under whose Hand and Seal he there 1670.  
produced. 

Sensible of his Error too late (when Sleep had restored him to some degree of Sense) and discouraged with this ill Success of his Attempt upon the *Quakers*, he quickly left that Place; and crossing through the Country, cast himself among the *Baptists*, at a Meeting which they held in a private Place: of which the over-easie Credulity of some that went among them (whom he had craftily insinuated himself into) had given him Notice. The Entertainment he found amongst them, deserved a better Return than he made them. For, having smoothly wrought himself into their good Opinion, and cunningly drawn some of them into an unwary Openness, and Freedom of Conversation with him, upon the unpleasing Subject of the Severity of those Times; he most villanously impeached one of them (whose Name was ——— *Heaach*, a Man well reputed amongst his Neighbours) of having spoken *Treasonable Words*: and thereby brought the Man in danger of losing both his Estate and Life; had not a seasonable Discovery of his abominable Practices elsewhere (imprinting Terror, the Effect of Guilt upon him) caused him to fly both out of the Court and Country; at that very instant of Time, when the honest Man stood at the Bar, ready to be arraigned upon his false Accusation.

This his false Charge against that *Baptist*, left him no further room to play the Hypocrite in those Parts. Off therefore go his Cloak and Vizer.

1670. Vizor. And now he openly appears, in his proper Colours, to disturb the Assemblies of God's People: which was indeed the very End, for which the Design at first was laid.

But because the Law provided, *That a Conviction must be grounded upon the Oaths of two Witnesses*; it was needful for him, in order to the carrying on his intended Mischief, to find out an Associate, who might be both sordid enough for such an Employment, and vicious enough to be his Companion.

This was not an easie Task: yet he found out one, who had already given an Experiment of his Readiness to take other Mens Goods: being not long before released out of *Alesbury-Goal*, where he very narrowly escaped the Gallows, for having Stolen a Cow.

The Names of these Fellows being yet unknown, in that Part of the Country where they began their Work; the former, by the general Voice of the Country, was called *The Trepan*: the latter, *The Informer*; and, from the Colour of his Hair, *Red-head*. But in a little time the *Trepan* called himself *John Poulter*: adding withal, That Judge *Morton* used to call him *John for the King*; and that the A. B. of *Canterbury* had given him a *Deaconry*. That his Name was indeed *John Poulter*, the reputed Son of one——*Poulter*, a Butcher in *Salisbury*; and that he had long since been there branded for a Fellow egregiously Wicked and Debauched, we were assured by the Testimony of a young Man, then living in *Amer sham*, who both was his Countryman,



man, and had known him in *Salisbury*: as well 1670.  
as by a Letter from an Inhabitant of that Place;  
to whom his Course of Life had been well known.

His Comrade, who for some time was only  
called *The Informer*, was named *Ralph Lacy* of  
*Risborough*; and Sirnamed the *Cow-stealer*.

These agreed between themselves where to  
make their first Onset (which was to be, and was,  
on the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*,  
then holden at the House of *William Russell*; cal-  
led *Jourden's*; in the Parish of *Giles-Chalfont* in  
the County of *Bucks*) that which was wanting  
to their Accommodation, was a Place of Har-  
bour, fit for such Beasts of Prey to lurk in: for  
Assistance wherein Recourse was had to Parson  
*Philips*; none being so ready, none so willing,  
none so able to help them, as he.

A Friend he had in a Corner, a Widow-Wo-  
man; not long before one of his Parishioners.  
Her Name was *Anne Dell*; and at that time  
she lived at a Farm called *Whites*, a By-place in  
the Parish of *Beconsfield*, whither she removed  
from *Hitchindon*: To her these Fellows were  
Recommended; by her old Friend the Parson.  
She, with all readiness, received them; Her  
House was at all times open to them: what she  
had, was at their Command.

Two Sons she had at home with her, both at  
Man's Estate; to the Eldest of which her Maid-  
Servant, not long before, had laid a Bastard:  
which Infamy to smother up proved Expensive  
to them. The younger Son (whose Name was  
*John Dell*) hoping, by the Pillage of his honest

1670. Neighbours, to regain what the Incontinency of his lustful Brother had mis-spent; lifted himself in the Service of his Mothers New Guests, to attend on them, as their Guide, and to inform them (who were too much Strangers to pretend to know the Names of any of the Persons there) whom they should inform against.

Thus consorted, thus in a triple League confederated, on the 24th Day of the *Fifth Month* (commonly called *July*) in the Year 1670, they appeared openly, and began to Act their intended Tragedy upon the *Quakers* Meeting, at the Place aforesaid; to which I belonged, and at which I was present. Here the chief Actor, *Poulter*, behaved himself with such impetuous Violence, and brutish Rudeness, as gave Occasion for Enquiry who, or what, he was. And being soon discovered to be the *Trepan*, so Infamous, and abhor'd by all sober People; and afterwards daily detected of gross Impieties, and even Capital Crimes (such as *Christ'ning* (so the common Term is) of a Cat in contempt of that Practice which is used by many upon Children) naming it *Catharine-Catherina*, in derision of the then Queen; And the Felonious taking of certain Goods from one of *Brainsford*; whom also he cheated of Money. These things raising an Out-cry in the Country upon him, made him consult his own Safety; and leaving his Part to be Acted by others, quitted the Country as soon as he could.

He being gone, Satan soon supplied his Place, by sending one *Richard Ark*, a broken Ironmonger.

ger of *Wiccomb*, to join with *Lacy* in this Service; 1670. prompted thereto, in hopes that he might thereby repair his broken Fortunes. W

Of this New Adventurer this single Character may serve, whereby the Reader may make Judgment of him, as of the Lion by his Paw; That at the Sessions, holden at *Wiccomb* in *October* then last past, he was openly accused of having enticed one *Harding*, of the same Town, to be his Companion and Associate in Robbing on the Highway; and Proof offered to be made, that he had made Bullets in order to that Service: Which Charge *Harding* himself, whom he had endeavoured to draw into that hainous Wickedness, was ready in Court to prove upon Oath; had not the Prosecution been discountenanced and smothered.

*Lacy* (the Cow-stealer) having thus got *Aris* (the intended Highway-man) to be his Comrade; they came (on the 21st of the Month called *August*, 1670.) to the Meeting of the People called *Quakers*, where *Lacy* with *Poulter* had been a Month before; and taking for granted that the same, who had been there before, were there then, they went to a Justice of the Peace called *Sir Thomas Clayton*, and Swore at all adventure, against one *Thomas Zachary* and his Wife (whom *Lacy* understood to have been there the Month before) that they were then present in that Meeting: Whereas neither the said *Thomas Zachary* nor his Wife were at that Meeting; but were both of them at *London* (above Twenty Miles distant) all that Day; having been

1670. there sometime before and after. Which notwithstanding, upon this false Oath of these false Men, the Justice laid Fines upon the said *Thomas Zachary*, of 10 l. for his own Offence, 10 l. for his Wife's, and 10 l. for the Offence of a pretended Preacher (though indeed there was not any that preached at that Meeting that Day;) and issued forth his Warrant to the Officers of *Beaconsfield* (where *Thomas Zachary* dwelt) for the levying of the same upon his Goods.

I mention these things thus particularly (tho' not an immediate Suffering of my own;) because, in the Consequence thereof, it occasioned no small Trouble and Exercise to me.

For when *Thomas Zachary*, returning Home from *London*, understanding what had been done against him; and advising what to do, was informed by a Neighbouring *Attorney*, that his Remedy lay in appealing from the Judgment of the Convicting Justice, to the *General Quarter Sessions* of the Peace: he thereupon ordering the said *Attorney* to draw up his Appeal in Form of Law, went himself with it, and tendered it to the Justice. But the Justice, being a Man neither well principled, nor well natured; and uneasy that he should lose the Advantage, both of the present Conviction, and future Service of such (in his Judgment) useful Men, as those two bold Informers were likely to be: fell sharply upon *Thomas Zachary*, charging him that he suffer'd justly; and that his Suffering was not on a Religious Account.

This

This rough and unjust Dealing engaged the 1670. good Man to enter into further Discourse with the Justice, in defence of his own Innocency. From which Discourse the insidious Justice, taking offence at some Expression of his, charged him with saying, *The Righteous are Oppressed, and the Wicked go Unpunished.* Which the Justice interpreting to be a Reflection on the Government, and calling it an *high Misdemeanour*; required Sureties of the good Man to answer it at the next *Quarter Sessions*, and in the mean time to be bound to his good Behaviour, But, he, well knowing himself to be Innocent of having broken any Law, or done in this Matter any Evil, could not answer the Justices Unjust Demand; and therefore was sent forthwith a Prisoner to the County Goal.

By this Severity, it was thought, the Justice designed, not only to wreak his Displeasure on this good Man; but to prevent the further Prosecution of his Appeal: Whereby he should at once both Oppress the Righteous; by the Levying of the Fines unduly imposed upon him; and secure the informers from a Conviction of wilful Perjury, and the Punishment due therefore, that so they might go on, without Controul, in the wicked Work they were engaged in.


But so great Wickedness was not to be suffered to go unpunished, or at least undiscovered. Wherefore, although no way could be found at present, to get the good Man released from his unjust Imprisonment: Yet that his Restraint might not hinder the Prosecution of his Appeal,

1670. on which the Detection of the Informers Villany depended: Consideration being had thereof amongst some Friends; the Management of the Prosecution was committed to my Care, who was thought (with respect at least to Leisure, and disengagement from other Business) most fit to attend it; and very willingly I undertook it.

Wherefore at the next general *Quarter-Sessions* of the Peace, holden at *High-Wiccomb* in *October* following, I took care that Four Substantial Witnesses, Citizens of unquestionable Credit, should come down from *London*, in a Coach and four Horses, hired on purpose.

These gave so punctual and full Evidence, that *Thomas Zachary* and his Wife were in *London* all that Day, whereon the Informers had Sworn them to have been at an Unlawful Meeting, at a place more than Twenty Miles distant from *London*, that, notwithstanding what Endeavours were used to the contrary, the Jury found them *Not Guilty*. Whereupon the Money deposited for the Fines, at the Entering of the Appeal, ought to have been returned: and so was Ten Pounds of it; but the rest of the Money being in the Hand of the Clerk of the Peace, whose Name was *Wells*, could never be got out again.

*Thomas Zachary* himself was brought from *Alesbury* Goal to *Wiccomb*, to receive his Tryal; and though no Evil could be charged upon him: yet Justice *Clayton*, who at first committed him, displeased to see the Appeal Prosecuted, and the Conviction he had made set aside, by Importunity prevailed with the Bench to remand him

him to Prison again, there to lie until another 1670. Sessions. 

While this was doing, I got an Indictment drawn up against the Informers, *Aris* and *Lacy*, for wilful Perjury, and caused it to be delivered to the Grand Jury; who found the Bill. And although the Court adjourned from the Town Hall to the Chamber at their Inn (in favour, as it was thought, to the Informers, on Supposition we would not pursue them thither;) yet thither they were pursued: and there being two Counsells present from *Windfor* (the Name of the one was *Starkey*, and of the other, as I remember, *Forster*; the former of which I had before retained upon the Tryal of the Appeal) I now retained them both, and sent them into Court again, to Prosecute the Informers upon this Indictment, Which they did so smartly, that the Informers (being present, as not suspecting any such sudden Danger) were of necessity called to the Bar, and Arraigned; and having pleaded *Not Guilty*, were forced to enter a Traverse, to avoid a present Commitment: All the Favour the Court could shew them, being to take them Bail one for the other (though probably both not worth a Groat) else they must have gone to Goal for want of Bail, which would have put them besides their Business, spoil'd the Informing Trade, and broke the Design; whereas now they were turned loose again, to do what Mischief they could, until the next Sessions.

Accordingly they did what they could, and yet could make little or no Earnings at it: For

1670. this little step of Prosecution had made them so known, and their late apparent Perjury had made them so detestable; that even the common sort of bad Men shunned them, and would not willingly yield them any Assistance.

The next Quarter-Sessions was holden at *Alebury*, whither we were fain to bring down our Witnesses again from *London*, in like manner, and at like Charge (at the least) as before. And though I met with great Discouragements in the Prosecution, yet I followed it so vigorously, that I got a Verdict against the Informers for wilful Perjury: and had forthwith taken them up, had not they forthwith fled from Justice, and hid themselves. However, I moved by my *Attorney* for an Order of Court, directed to all *Mayors*, *Bayliffs*, *High Constables*, *Petty Constables*, and other Inferiour Officers of the Peace, to Arrest and take them up, where-ever they should be found within the County of *Bucks*: and bring them to the County Goal.

The Report of this so terrified them, that, of all things dreading the Misery of lying in a Goal (out of which they could not hope for Deliverance, otherwise than by, at least, the Loss of their Ears) they, hopeless now of carrying on their Informing Trade, disjoyned; and one of them (*Aris*) fled the Country: So that (whatever Gallows caught him) he appeared no more in this Country. The other (*Lacy*) lurked privily, for a while, in Woods and By-places, till Hunger and Want forced him out; and then, casting himself upon an hazardous Adventure (which



(which yet was the best, and proved to him the 1670. best Course he could have taken) he went directly to the Goal (where, he knew, the Innocent Man suffered Imprisonment by his Means, and for his sake :) where asking for, and being brought to *Thomas Zachary*, he cast himself on his Knees, at his Feet ; and with appearance of Sorrow, confessing his Fault, did so earnestly beg for Forgiveness, that he wrought upon the tender Nature of that very good Man, not only to put him in hopes of Mercy, but to be his Advocate by Letter to me, to mitigate, at least, if not wholly to remit the Prosecution. To which I so far only consented, as to let him know, I would suspend the Execution of the Warrant upon him, according as he behaved himself, or until he gave fresh Provocation. At which Message the Fellow was so overjoyed, that, relying with Confidence thereon, he returned openly to his Family and Labour, and applied himself to Business (as his Neighbours observed and reported) with greater Diligence and Industry, than he had ever done before.

Thus began, and thus ended, the Informing-Trade, in these Parts of the County of *Bucks*; the ill Success that these first Informers found, discouraging all others, how Vile soever, from attempting the like Enterprize there ever after. And though it cost some Money to carry on the Prosecution ; and some Pains too : Yet, for every Shilling so spent, a Pound, probably, might be saved, of what (in all likelihood) would have been lost, by the Spoil and Havock that might have

1670. have been made, by Distresses taken on their Informations.

But so Angry was the Convicting Justice (whatever others, of the same Rank were) at this Prosecution, and the loss thereby of the Service of those *Honest Men*, the *Perjur'd Informers*. For as I heard an *Attorney* (one *Hitchcock* of *Allesbury*, who was their Advocate in Court) say, *A great Lord, a Peer of the Realm, called them so, in a Letter directed to him; Whereby he recommended to him the Care and Defence of them and their Cause; that he prevailed to have the Oath of Allegiance tendred in Court to Thomas Zachary; which he knew he would not take, because he could not take any Oath at all; by which Snare he was kept in Prison a long time after; and (so far as I remember) until a general Pardon released him.*

But though it pleased the Divine Providence (which sometimes vouchsafeth to bring Good out of Evil) to put a stop (in a great Measure, at least) to the Prosecution here begun: Yet in other Parts, both of the City and Country, it was carried on with very great Severity and Rigour; the worst of Men, for the most part, being set up for *Informers*; the worst of Magistrates encouraging and abetting them; and the worst of the Priests (who first began to blow the Fire) now seeing how it took, spread and blazed, Clapping their Hands, and Hallowing them on to this Evil Work.

The Sense whereof, as it deeply affected my Heart with a Sympathizing Pity for the Oppressed

fed Sufferers: So it raised in my Spirit an Holy 1670.  
Disdain, and Contempt of that Spirit and its  
Agent; by which this ungodly Work was stir-  
red up, and carried on. Which at length brake  
forth in an Expostulatory POEM, under the  
Title of *GIGANTOMACHIA* (*The Wars  
of the Giants against Heaven.*) Not without some  
Allusion to the Second Psalm, thus.

**W**HY do the Heathen in a brutish Rage,  
Themselves against the Lord of Hosts  
Engage!

Why do the frantick People entertain  
Their Thoughts upon a thing that is so vain!  
Why do the Kings themselves together set!  
And why do all the Princes them abet!  
Why do the Rulers to each other speak  
After this foolish manner, *Let us break  
Their Bonds asunder! Come let us make haste,  
With joint Consent, their Cords from us cast.*  
Why do they thus joyn Hands! and Counsel take  
Against the *Lord's Anointed!* This will make  
Him, doubtless, Laugh; who doth in Heaven Sit:  
The Lord will have them in Contempt for it.  
His sore Displeasure on them he will wreak:  
And in his Wrath will he unto them Speak.

For

1670. For on his Holy Hill of *Sion*, He

His King hath set to Reign ; *Scepters* must be  
Cast down before him : *Diadems* must lie  
At foot of him, who sits in Majesty  
Upon his Throne of Glory ; whence he will  
Send forth his fiery Ministers, to Kill  
All those his Enemies, who would not be  
Subject to his Supream Authority.

Where then will ye appear, who are so far  
From being *Subjects*, that ye *Rébel*s are  
Against his Holy Government ; and strive  
Others from their Allegiance too to drive ;  
What *Earthly Prince* such an *Affront* wou'd bear  
From any of his Subjects, shou'd they dare  
So to encroach on his Prerogative !  
Which of them wou'd permit that Man to live !  
What shou'd it be adjudg'd but *Treason* ? And  
Death he must suffer for it, out of hand.

And shall the *King of Kings* such *Treason* see  
Acted against him, and the Traytors be  
Acquitted ! No, *Vengeance* is his : and they  
That him *Provoke*, shall know he will repay.

And of a Truth, provoked he hath been,  
In an high Manner, by this daring Sin.

Of

Of Usurpation, and of Tyranny 1670.  
 Over Mens *Consciences*, which should be free  
 To Serve the *Living God*, as he requires,  
 And as his Holy Spirit them Inspires.  
 For Conscience is an Inward thing, and none,  
 Can govern that aright, but God alone.  
 Nor can a well-Informed Conscience low'r  
 Her Sails to any Temporary Pow'r;  
 Or bow to Mens Decrees: For that wou'd be  
 Treason in a Superlative Degree;  
 For God alone can Laws to Conscience give,  
 And that's a Badge of his **P R E R O G A T I V E**.

This is the Controversie of this Day,  
 Between the Holy God, and sinful Clay.  
 God hath, throughout the Earth, Proclaim'd,  
 that he  
 Will over Conscience hold the Sov'raignty;  
 That he the Kingdom to himself will take,  
 And in Man's Heart his Residence will make:  
 From whence his Subjects shall such Laws  
 receive,

As please his *Royal Majesty* to give.

Man heeds not this: but most audaciously  
 Says, *Unto me belongs Supremacy*:

*And*

1672 *And all Mens Consciences, within my Land,  
Ought to be subject unto my Command.*

God, by his Holy Spirit, doth direct  
His People how to Worship: And expect  
Obedience from them. Man says, *I ordain,  
That none shall Worship in that way, on pain  
Of Prison, Confiscation, Banishment;  
Or being to the Stake, or Gallows, Sent.*

God, out of *Babylon*, doth People call:  
Commands them to forsake her Ways; and all  
Her sev'ral sorts of Worship, to deny  
Her whole Religion, as *Idolatry*.

Will Man thus his usurped Pow'r forgo,  
And lose his ill-got Government? Oh no:  
But out comes his Enacted, be't, *That all  
Who, when the Organs Play, will not down fall  
Before this Golden Image, and adore;  
What I have caus'd to be set up; therefore  
Into the fiery Furnace shall be cast:  
And be consumed with a flaming Blast.*  
Or, in the mildest Terms, Conform, or Pay  
So much a Month, or so much ev'ry Day;  
Which we will Levy on you, by Distress,  
Sparing nor Widow, nor the Fatherless:

*And*

*And if you have not what will Satisfie,  
Tare like in Prison, during Life, to lie.*

1670.  
W

Christ says, *Swear not* : but Man says, *Swear,  
In Prison, pramunir'd, until you Die.* (or lie  
Man's Ways are, in a Word, as Opposite  
To God's, as Midnight-Darkness is to Light.  
And yet fond Man doth strive with *Might* and  
*Main*

By *Penal Laws*, God's People to constrain  
To Worship *What, When, Where, How* he  
thinks fit ;

And to whatever he Injoyns, submit,

What will the Issue of this Contest be !  
Which must *give* place, the *Lord's*, or *Man's*  
Decree !

Will Man be in the Day of *Battle*, found  
Able to keep the Field, maintain his Ground,  
Against the mighty God ! No more than can  
The lightest *Chaff* before the *Winnowing Fan* :  
No more than *Straw* cou'd stand before the  
Flame ;

Or smallest *Atoms*, when a Whirlwind came.

The LORD (who in Creation, only said,  
*Let us make Man*, and forthwith Man was made)  
Can,

1670. Can, in a Moment, by one Blast of Breath,  
 Strike all Mankind with an Eternal Death.  
 How soon can God all Man's Devices quash,  
 And, with his Iron Rod, in Pieces dash  
 Him, like a Potter's Vessel! None can stand  
 Against the Mighty Power of his Hand.

Be therefore wise, ye Kings; instructed be,  
 Ye Rulers of the Earth, and henceforth see  
 Ye serve the Lord in Fear: and stand in aw  
 Of sinning any more against his Law,  
 His *Royal Law of Liberty*; to do  
 To others as you'd have them do to you.  
 Oh stoop, ye *mighty Monarchs*, and let none  
 Reject his Government; but kiss the Son  
 While's Wrath is but a little kindled, lest  
 His Anger burn, and you that have transgress'd  
 His Law so oft; and wou'd not him obey,  
 Eternally shou'd perish from the Way;  
 The Way of *God's Salvation*. where the Just  
 Are bless'd, who in the Lord do put their trust.

*Felix quem faciunt aliena Pericula cautum.*

————— Happy's He,  
 Whom others Harms do wary make to be.



As the unreasonable Rage, and furious Violence of the Persecutors had drawn the former Expostulation from me : so, in a while after, my Heart being deeply affected with a Sense of the great Loving-kindness, and tender Goodness of the LORD to his People, in bearing up their Spirits in their greatest Exercises, and preserving them through the sharpest Tryals, in a faithful Testimony to his blessed Truth, and opening, in due time, a Door of Deliverance to them, I could not forbear to celebrate his Praises in the following Lines, under the Title of

*A SONG of the Mercies and Deliverances of the LORD.*

**H**AD not the Lord been on our Side,  
May *Israel* now say,

We were not able to abide

The Tryals of that Day.

When Men did up against us rise,

With Fury, Rage and Spight ;

Hoping to catch us by surprize,

Or run us down by Might.

Then had not God for us arose,

And shewn his mighty Pow'r ;

We had been swallow'd by our Foes,

Who waited to devour.

1671.



When the joint-Pow'rs of Death and Hell

Against us did combine :

And, with united Forces, fell

Upon us, with design

To Root us out : then had not God

Appear'd to take our Part,

And them chastized with his Rod,

And made them feel the Smart :

We then had overwhelmed been,

And trodden in the Mire,

Our Enemies on us had seen

Their cruel Hearts Desire.

When *Ston'd*, when *Stock't*, when rudely *stript*

Some, to the Waste, have been,

(Without regard of Sex) and whip't,

Until the Blood did spin :

Yea, when their *Skins*, with *Stripes* look't black,

Their Flesh to Jelly beat,

Enough to make their Sinews crack,

The Lashes were so great :

Then had not God been with them, to

Support them, they had dy'd ;

His Pow'r it was, that bore them thro',

Nothing cou'd do't beside.

When

When into Prisons we were throng'd  
(Where *Pestilence* was rife,)

1671.

wye

By bloody-minded Men, that long'd  
To take away our Life :

Then had not God been with us, we  
Had perish't there, no doubt ;

'Twas He preserv'd us there, and He  
It was that brought us out.

When Sentenced to Banishment

Inhumanly we were ;

To be from Native Country sent,

From all that Men call *dear* :

Then had not God been pleas'd t' appear,  
And take our Cause in hand ;

And struck them with a pannick Fear,  
Which put them to a stand.

Nay, had he not great Judgments sent,  
And compass'd them about ;

They were, at that time, fully bent  
To root us wholly out.

Had he not gone with them that went,  
The Seas had been their Graves :

Or, when they came where they were sent,  
They had been Sold for Slaves.

1671.

But God was pleas'd still to give  
Them Favour where they came ;  
And in his Truth they yet do live,  
To Praise his Holy Name.  
And now afresh do Men contrive  
Another wicked Way,  
Of our Estates us to deprive,  
And take our Goods away.  
But will the Lord (who, to this Day,  
Our Part did always take)  
Now leave us, to be made a Prey ;  
And that too for his sake ?  
Can any one, who calls to Mind  
Deliverances past ;  
Discourag'd be at what's behind,  
And murmur now at last !  
O that no unbelieving Heart  
Among us may be found,  
That from the Lord wou'd now depart ;  
And, Coward like, give ground.  
For, without doubt, the God we serve  
Will still our Cause defend ;  
If we from him do never swerve,  
But trust him to the End.

What

What if our Goods, by Violence,  
 From us be torn, and we,  
 Of all things but our Innocence,  
 Should wholly stripped be?  
 Would this be more than did befall  
 Good *Job*? Nay sure, much less:  
 He lost Estate, Children and all;  
 Yet he the Lord did bless.  
 But did not God his Stock augment,  
 Double what 'twas before?  
 And this was writ to the Intent  
 That we should hope the more.  
 View but the Lillies of the Field,  
 That neither Knit, nor Spin:  
 Who is it that to them doth yield  
 The Robes they're decked in?  
 Doth not the Lord the Ravens feed,  
 And for the Sparrows care?  
 And will not He, for his own Seed,  
 All needful things prepare?  
 The Lions shall sharp Hunger bear,  
 And pine for lack of Food:  
 But who the Lord do truly Fear  
 Shall nothing want that's good.

1671.

W


1671. Oh! which of us can now diffide  
 That God will us defend,  
 Who hath been always on our Side,  
 And will be to the End.

1671.

*Spes confisa Deo nunquam confusa recedet.*

Hope, which on God is firmly grounded,  
 Will never fail, nor be confounded.

1672. Scarce was the before-mentioned Storm of outward Persecution from the Government, blown over; when Satan rais'd another Storm, of another kind, against us on this Occasion. The foregoing Storm of Persecution, as it lasted long; so, in many Parts of the Nation, and particularly at London, it fell very sharp and violent, especially on the *Quakers*. For they having no Refuge, but God alone, to fly unto, could not dodge and shift to avoid the Suffering; as others of other Denominations could, and in their worldly Wisdom and Policy did; altering their Meetings, with respect both to Place and Time, and forbearing to meet, when Forbidden, or kept out of their *Meeting-Houses*. So that of the several Sorts of Dissenters, the *Quakers* only held up a publick Testimony, as a Standard or Ensign of Religion, by keeping their Meeting duly and fully, at the accustomed Times and Places (so long as they were suffered to Enjoy the Use of their Meeting-Houses;) and when they were shut up, and Friends kept out of them by Force; they

they assembled in the Streets, as near to their 1672.  
Meeting-Houses as they could. 

This bold, and truly Christian Behaviour in the *Quakers* disturbed, and not a little displeased the *Persecutors*; who fretting complained, *That the Stubborn Quakers brake their Strength, and bore off the Blow from those other Dissenters, whom, as they most feared, so they principally aimed at.* For indeed the *Quakers* they rather despised, than feared; as being a People, from whose peaceable both *Principles* and *Practices*, they held themselves secure from Danger: whereas having suffered severely, and that lately too, by and under the other Dissenters; they thought they had just cause to be apprehensive of danger from them, and good reason to suppress them.

On the other hand, the more Ingenious amongst other Dissenters, of each Denomination, sensible of the Ease they enjoyed by our bold and steady Suffering (which abated the Heat of the Persecutors, and blunted the Edge of the Sword, before it came to them) frankly acknowledged the Benefit received; calling us *The Bulwark that kept off the Force of the Stroke from them*, and praying *That we might be preserved, and enabled to break the Strength of the Enemy*: nor could some of them forbear (those especially who were called *Baptists*) to express their kind and favourable Opinion of us, and of the Principles we profess'd; which emboldened us to go thro' that, which but to hear of was a Terror to them.

1672. This their Good-will rais'd Ill-will in some of their Teachers against us; who, though willing to reap the Advantage of a Shelter, by a Retreat behind us, during the time that the Storm lasted: yet, partly through an Evil Emulation, partly through Fear, lest they should lose some of those Members of their Society, who had discovered such favourable Thoughts of our Principles and us; they set themselves, as soon as the Storm was over, to represent us in as ugly a Dress, and in as frightful Figure to the World; as they could invent, and put upon us.

1673. In order whereunto one *Thomas Hicks*, a Preacher among the *Baptists* at *London*, took upon him to write several Pamphlets successively, under the Title of *A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker*; which were so craftily contrived, that the unwary Reader might conclude them to be (not merely Fictions, but) real Discourses, actually held between one of the People called a *Quaker*, and some other Person. In these feigned Dialogues, *Hicks* (having no regard to Justice, or common Honesty) had made his *Counterfeit Quaker* say whatsoever he thought would render him, one while, sufficiently *Erronious*; another while, *Ridiculous* enough: forging, in the *Quaker's* Name, some things so abominably False, other Things so intolerably Foolish; as could not reasonably be supposed to have come into the Conceit, much less to have dropped from the Lip or Pen of any that went under the Name of a *Quaker*.

These



These *Dialogues* (shall I call them, or rather *Diabologues*) were answered by our *Friend W. Penn*, in two Books; the first being entituled, *Reason against Railing*; the other, *The Counterfeit Christian detected*: in which *Hicks* being charged with manifest, as well as manifold *Forgeries, Perversions, downright Lyes and Slanders* against the People called *Quakers* in general, *W. Penn, G. Whitehead*, and divers others by Name; Complaint was made, by way of an *Appeal*, to the *Baptists* in and about *London*, for Justice against *Thomas Hicks*.

Those *Baptists* (who, it seems, were in the *Plot* with *Hicks* to defame, at any rate, right or wrong, the People called *Quakers*) taking the Advantage of the Absence of *W. P.* and *G. W.* (who were the Persons most immediately concerned, and who were then gone a long Journey, on the service of Truth, to be absent from the City, in all probability, for a considerable time) appointed a publick Meeting, in one of their Meeting-Houses, under pretence of calling *Thomas Hicks* to account, and hearing the Charge made good against him: but with design to give the greater Stroke to the *Quakers*, when they, who should make good the Charge against *Hicks*, could not be present. For upon their sending Notice to the Lodgings of *W. P.* and *G. W.* of their intended Meeting, they were told by several *Friends*, that both *W. P.* and *G. W.* were from home, travelling in the Countries, uncertain where; and therefore could not be informed of their intended Meeting

1674. ing, either by Letter, or Express, within the time by them limited: for which reason they were desired to *defer* the Meeting, till they could have Notice of it, and time to return, that they might be at it. But these *Baptists*, whose Design was otherwise laid, would not be prevailed with to *defer* their Meeting: but, glad of the Advantage, gave their brother *Hicks* opportunity to make a colourable Defence, where he had his Party to help him; and none to oppose him! and having made a mock Shew of Examining him and his Works of Darknes, they in fine having heard one side, Acquitted him.

This gave just Occasion for a New Complaint, and Demand of Justice against him and them. For as soon as *W. P.* return'd to *London*, he in Print exhibited his Complaint of this unfair Dealing, and demanded Justice, by a re-hearing of the Matter, in a publick Meeting, to be appointed by joint Agreement. This went hardly down with the *Baptists*, nor could it be obtained from them, without great Importunity, and hard pressing. At length, after many delays, and Tricks used to shift it off, constrained by Necessity, they yielded to have a Meeting at their own Meeting-House, in *Barbican, London*.

There, amongst other *Friends*, was I, and undertook to read our Charge there against *Thomas Hicks*: which, not without much Difficulty, I did; they, inasmuch as the House was theirs, putting all the Inconveniencies they could upon us,

The particular Passages, and Management 1674. of this Meeting (as also of that other, which, followed soon after, they refusing to give us any other publick Meeting, we were fain to appoint in our own Meeting-House, by *Wheeler-Street* near *Spittle-Fields*, London, and gave them timely notice of) I forbear here to mention; there being in Print a Narrative of each, to which, for particular Information, I refer the Reader.

But to this Meeting *Thomas Hicks* would not come; but lodged himself at an Ale-house hard by: yet sent his Brother *Ives*, with some others of the Party, by clamorous Noises to divert us from the Prosecution of our Charge against him; which they so effectually performed, that they would not suffer the Charge to be heard, though often attempted to be read.

As this rude Behaviour of theirs was a Cause of Grief to me; so afterwards when I understood, that they used all evasive Tricks, to avoid another Meeting with us, and refused to do us Right, my Spirit was greatly stirred at their Injustice: and in the Sense thereof, willing, if possible, to have provoked them to more fair and manly Dealing, I let fly a Broad-side at them, in a single Sheet of Paper, under the Title of *A Fresh Pursuit*. In which, having restated the Controversie between them and us, and reinforced our Charge of Forgery, &c. against *Thomas Hicks* and his Abettors: I offered a fair Challenge to them (not only to *Thomas Hicks* himself, but to all those his Compurgators, who had

1674. had before undertaken to acquit him from our Charge, together with their Companion *Jer. Ives*) to give me a fair and publick Meeting; in which I would make good our Charge against him, as *Principal*, and all the rest of them, as *Accessaries*. But nothing could provoke them to come fairly forth,

Yet not long after, finding themselves galled by the Narrative lately published of what had passed in the last Meeting near *Wheeler-Street*; they, to help themselves, if they could, sent forth a Counter Account of that Meeting, and of the former at *Barbican*, as much to the Advantage of their own Cause, as they, upon deliberate Consideration cou'd contrive it. 'This was published by *Thomas Plant* (a Baptist-Teacher, and one of *Thomas Hicks* his former Compurgators) and bore (but fallly) the Title of *A Contest for Christianity; or, A faithful Relation of two late Meetings, &c.*

To this I quickly writ and published an Answer. And, because I saw the Design, and whole drift of the *Baptists* was to shroud *T. Hicks* from our Charge of *Forgery*, under the specious Pretence of his and their *standing up, and contending for Christianity*; I gave my Book this general Title, *Forgery no Christianity: or a brief Examen of a late Book, &c.* And having from their own Book, plainly convicted that which they called *A faithful Relation* to be indeed *A false Relation*; I, in an *Expostulatory Postscript* to the *Baptists*, reinforced our Charge, and my former Challenge: Offering to make it  
good

good against them, before a publick and free 1674-  
Auditory. But they were too wary to appear  
further; either in Person, or in Print.

This was the End of that Controversie;  
which was observed to have this Issue: That  
what those Dialogues were written to prevent,  
was, by the Dialogues, and their unfair, un-  
manly, unchristian Carriage, in endeavouring  
to defend them, hastened and brought to pass:  
for not a few of the *Baptist*-Members, upon this  
Occasion left their Meetings and Society, and  
came over to the *Quakers*-Meetings, and were  
joyned in Fellowship with them. Thanks be  
to God.

Though many of the most eminent among  
the *Baptists*, in and about *London*, engaged  
themselves in this Quarrel: to have defended,  
or, at least, to have brought fairly off (if it  
had been possible) their Brother *Hicks*: yet the  
main Service lay upon *Jeremy Ives*. Who, having  
been an unsuccessful Trader in *Cheese*, and there-  
in failed more than once; had now for some  
time, given over that Employment, and (like a  
*Mercenary Switzer*) undertook to be the Cham-  
pion for the *Baptists*, and to maintain their  
Quarrels against all Comers.

His Name was up, for a topping Disputant:  
but indeed, on the best Observation I could  
make of him (both now, and formerly) I  
could not find him a clean and fair Disputant.  
He seemed, I confess, well read in the *Falacies*  
of *Logick*, and was indeed rather ready, than  
true and sound, in framing *Syllogisms*. But his  
chief

1674. chief Art lay in Tickling the Humours of rude,  
 w unlearned and injudicious Hearers; thereby in-  
 sinuating himself into their good Opinion: and  
 then Bantering his Opponent.

1675. He lived not long after this; but the Impres-  
 sion his crafty false and frothy Carriage (as well  
 at this time, as before) had made upon my  
 Mind, drew from me, when I heard of his  
 Death, something like an *Epitaph*, in a drolling  
 Stile, as himself was wont to Use. And thus  
 it was.

**B**eneath this Stone deprest doth lie,  
 The Mirrour of *Hypocrisie*,

*IVES*; whose mercenary Tongue  
 Like a Weather-Cock was hung:  
 And did this, or that way play,  
 As *Advantage* led the way.

If well-hir'd, he wou'd Dispute;  
 Otherwise he wou'd be mute:  
 But he'd Baul nigh half a Day,  
 If he knew, and lik'd his Pay.

For his Person, let it pass.  
 Only Note, his *Face* was *Brass*:  
 His Heart was like a *Pumice-Stone*;  
 And for *Conscience*, he had none.

Of *Earth* and *Air* he was compos'd,  
 With *Water* round about enclos'd,  
 But *Earth* in him had greatest Share :  
 For, questionless his *Life* lay there ;  
 And thence his canker'd *Envy* sprung,  
 Which poyson'd both his *Heart* and *Tongue*.

1675.  
W.

*Air* made him frothy, light and vain,  
 And puff't him up with proud Disdain ;  
*Flouting* and *fleering*, more like a *Stage-Player*,  
 Than an *Anabaptist* Preacher and Prayer :  
 Fitter to be a *Mountebank's* Fool,  
 Than peep into a *Divinity-School* ;  
 More Tricks he had than *Jack Pudding* by  
 Half,

To raise the rude *Multitude* into a Laugh.

Into the *Water* oft he went,  
 And through the *Water* many sent ;  
 That was, ye know, his Element :  
 The greatest Odds that did appear,  
 Was this (for ought that I can hear)  
 That He in *Gold* did others dip ;  
 But did himself *Hot Waters* sip.

}

Sip ! said I ? Nay, more than so,  
 Sipping wou'd not serve his turn ;

He

1675. He did unto *Quaffing* go  
 (Twas much his Guts he did not burn :)  
 For, if Credit may be given  
 To Report, he'd Fuddle, even  
 Till he Reeled to and fro ;  
 And his Cause he'd never doubt,  
 If well-soak'd o'er Night in *Stout*.

But, mean while, he must not lack  
*Brandy*, or a Draught of *Sack*.

One Dispute wou'd shrink a Bottle  
 Of three Pints, if not a Pottle:  
 One wou'd think he fetch'd from thence,  
 All his dreaming *Eloquence* ;  
 And his four-leg'd *Syllogisms*,  
 Proving *Breakings* are no *Schisms*.  
 Wot ye why ? Himself *Brake* twice.

Say no more : the Point is nice.  
 But let us now bring back the *See*  
 Unto his *Aqua-Vita-Pot* ;  
 And observe, with some Content,  
 How he fram'd his Argument.  
 That his Whistle he might wet,  
 The Bottle to his Mouth he set ;

And,



And, being Master of that Art,  
 Thence he drew the *Major* part:  
 But left the *Minor* still behind,  
 Good reason why: He wanted Wind.  
 If his Breath wou'd have held out,  
 He had Conclusion drawn, no doubt.  
 But to't again he went, and thence  
 He fetch'd a lusty Consequence.  
 Then finding all his Drink was spent,  
 He thus wound up his Argument.  
*My Sides are not of Iron, neither*  
*Are my Lungs made of Whit-leather.*  
*If therefore you've not, I have done.*  
 Then, Leaping down, \* away he Run.

1675.

~

\* From  
 the Dis-  
 pute at  
 Wheeler-  
 Street,  
 London;  
 the 16th  
 of Octo-  
 ber,  
 1674.

The Controversie which had been raised by those cavilling *Baptists*, had not been long ended; before another was raised, by an *Episcopal* Priest in *Lincolnshire*: Who, fearing, as it seemed, to lose some of his Hearers, to the *Quakers*, wrote a Book, which he miscalled, *A Friendly Conference between a Minister and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism*. In which, he Misstated, and greatly Perverted the *Quakers* Principles, that he might thereby beget in his Parishioners an Aversion to them: And that he might Abuse us the more securely, he concealed himself; sending forth his Book without a Name.

1676. This Book coming to my Hand, became my Concern (after I had read it, and considered the evil Management, and worse design thereof) to Answer it: Which I did in a Treatise called *Truth Prevailing, and detesting Error*: Published in the Year, 1676.

My Answer I divided, according to the several Subjects handled in the Conference, into divers distinct Chapters; the last of which treated of TYTHES.

This being the Priests *Delilah*; and that Chapter of mine pinching them (it seems) in a tender part, the Belly; they laid their Heads together, and with what speed they could, sent forth a distinct Reply to the last Chapter of *Tythes* in mine, under the Title of *The Right of Tythes Asserted and Proved*. This also came forth without a Name; yet pretended to be written by another Hand.

Before I had finished my Rejoynder to this, came forth another, called *A Vindication of the Friendly Conference*; said to be written by the Author of the feigned Conference, who was not yet willing to trust the World with his Name. So much of it, as related to the Subject I was then upon, *Tythes*, I took into my Rejoynder to the *Right of Tythes*; which I Published, in the  
1678. Year, 1678. with this Title. *The Foundation of Tythes Shaken, &c.*

After this, it was a pretty while before I  
1680. heard from either of them again. But at length came forth a Reply to my Last, supposed to be written by the same Hand, who had before writ-

written the *Right of Tythes Asserted*, &c. but 1680. still without a Name. This latter Book had more of Art, than Argument, in it. It was indeed a *Hafh* of ill-cook'd *Crambe*, set off with as much Flourish as the Author was Master of, and swell'd into Bulk by many Quotations: But those so wretchedly misgiven, misapplied or perverted; that, to a judicious and impartial Reader, I durst oppose my *Foundation of Tythes Shaken*, to the utmost Force that Book has in it. Yet, it coming forth at a time when I was pretty well at leisure, I intended a full Refutation thereof; and in order thereunto had written between Forty and Fifty Sheets: When other Business, more urgent, intervening, took me off, and detained me from it so long, that it was then judged out of Season; and so it was laid aside.

Hitherto the War I had been engag'd in, was in a sort, Foreign; with People of other Religious Perswasions, such as were open and avowed Enemies: but now another sort of War arose, an intestine War, raised by some among our selves; such as had once been of us, and yet retained the same Profession, and would have been thought to be of us still: But having through ill-grounded Jealousies, let in Discontents, and thereupon fallen into Jangling, chiefly about Church-Discipline; they at length brake forth into an open Schism, headed by two Northern Men of Name and Note, *John Wilkinson* and *John Story*. The latter of which, as being the most active and popular Man, having gained a considerable Interest in the *West*, car-

1680. ried the Controversie with him thither, and there spreading it, drew many, too many, to abet him therein.

Among those, *William Rogers*, a Merchant of *Bristol*, was not the least, nor least accounted of (by himself and some others.) He was a bold and an active Man, moderately Learned, but immoderately Conceited of his own Parts and Abilities; which made him forward to Engage, as thinking none would dare to take up the Gauntlet he should cast down. This high Opinion of himself made him rather a Troublesome, than Formidable Enemy.

That I may here step over the various steps, by which he advanced to open Hostility (as what I was not Actually, or Personally engaged in :) He in a while arrived to that height of Folly and Wickedness, that he Wrote and Published a large Book, in Five Parts, to which he Maliciously gave for a Title [*The Christian Quaker distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator.*] thereby Arrogating to himself, and those who were of his Party, the topping Stile of *Christian Quaker*; and no less Impiously, than Uncharitably branding, and rejecting all others (even the main Body of *Friends*) for *Apostates* and *Innovators*.

When this Book came abroad, it was not a little (and He, for its sake) cryed up by his injudicious Admirers; whose Applause setting his Head afloat, he came up to *London* at the time of the *Yearly-Meeting* then following, and at the Close thereof, gave notice in writing to this Effect,

fect, viz. *That if any were Dissatisfied with his* 1681.  
*Book, he was there ready to Maintain and Defend* W  
*both it and himself against all Commers.*

This daring Challenge was neither dreaded, nor slighted; but an Answer forthwith returned in Writing (Signed by a few *Friends*, amongst whom I was one) to let him know, that as many were Dissatisfied with his Book and him, he should not fail (God willing) to be met by the Sixth Hour next Morning, at the Meeting Place at *Devonshire-House*.

Accordingly we met, and continued the Meeting till Noon, or after; in which time he (surrounded with those of his own Party, as might abet and assist him) was so fairly foiled and baffled, and so fully exposed, that he was glad to quit the Place, and early next Morning the Town also; leaving, in excuse for his going so abruptly off (and thereby refusing us another Meeting with him, which we had earnestly provoked him to) this slight shift, that he had before given Earnest for his Passage in the Stage-Coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

I had before this gotten a sight of his Book, and procured one for my use, on this occasion; but I had not time to read it through: But a while after, Providence cast another of them into my Hands very unexpectedly: For our dear Friend, *G. Fox*, passing through this Country amongst *Friends*, and lying in his Journey at my House, had one of them in his Bags, which he had made some Marginal Notes upon. For that good Man (like *Julius Caesar*) willing to im-

1681. prove all parts of his time, did usually, even in his Travels, dictate to his *Amanuensis*, what he would have committed to Writing. I knew not that he had this Book with him (for he had not said any thing to me of it) till going in the Morning, into his Chamber, while he was Dressing himself; I found it lying on the Table by him. And understanding that he was going but for a few Weeks, to Visit *Friends* in the Meetings hereabouts, and the Neighbouring parts of *Oxford* and *Berksbire*, and so return through this County again: I made bold to ask him, if he would Favour me so much, as to leave it with me till his Return; that I might have the opportunity of reading it thorough. He consented, and as soon almost as he was gone, I set my self to read it over. But I had not gone far in it, e're, observing the many foul Falshoods, malicious Slanders, gross Perversions and false Doctrines, abounding in it; the sense thereof inflamed my Breast with a Just and Holy Indignation against the Work, and that Devilish Spirit in which it was brought forth. Wherefore, finding my Spirit raised, and my Understanding Divinely opened to Refute it; I began the Book again, and reading it with Pen in Hand, Answered it Paragraphically, as I went. And so clear were the Openings I received from the Lord therein, that by the time my Friend came back, I had gone through the greatest part of it; and was too far engaged in Spirit, to think of giving over the Work: Wherefore, requesting him to continue the Book a little longer with me,

me, I soon after finished the Answer; which, 1682<sup>o</sup> with *Friends* Approbation, was Printed, under the Title of *An Antidote against the Infection of W. Rogers his Book, miscalled, The Christian Quaker, &c.* This was written in the Year, 1682. But no Answer was given to it (either by him or any other of his Party; though many others were concerned therein, and some by Name) so far as I have ever heard. Perhaps there might be an Hand of Providence over-ruling them therein; to give me leisure to attend some other Services, which soon after fell upon me.

For it being a Stormy time, and Persecution waxing hot, upon the Conventicle-Act, through the busie Boldness of Hungry Informers, who, for their own Advantage, did not only themselves hunt after Religious and Peaceable Meetings; but drove on the Officers (not only the more Inferior and Subordinate, but, in some places, even the Justices also) for fear of Penalties, to Hunt with them and for them: I found a Pressure upon my Spirit to write a small Treatise, to inform such Officers how they might secure and defend themselves from being ridden by those Malepert Informers, and made their Drudges.

This Treatise I called, *A Caution to Constables, and other Inferior Officers, concerned in the Execution of the Conventicle-Act. With some Observations thereupon, humbly offered by way of Advice, to such Well-meaning and Moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly Ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c.*

1683. This was thought to have some good Service where it came, upon such Sober and Moderate Officers, as well *Justices*, as *Constables*, &c. as acted rather by Constraint than Choice; by encouraging them to stand their Ground; with more Courage and Resolution, against the Insults of sawcy *Informers*.

But whatever Ease it brought to others, it brought me some Trouble, and had like to have brought me into more Danger, had not Providence wrought my Deliverance, by an unexpected Way.

For as soon as it came forth in Print (which was in the Year, 1683.) one *William Ayrs* of *Watford* in *Hertfordshire*, a Friend, and an Acquaintance of mine (who was both an *Apothecary* and *Barber*) being acquainted with divers of the Gentry in those Parts, and going often to some of their Houses, to Trim them; took one of these Books with him, when he went to Trim *Sir Benjamin Titchborn* of *Rickmansworth*, and presented it to him: supposing he would have taken it kindly, as in like Cases he had formerly done. But it fell out otherwise. For he looking it over, after *Ayrs* was gone; and taking it by the wrong Handle, entertained an evil Opinion of it, and of me for it, though he knew me not.

He thereupon communicated both the Book, and his Thoughts upon it, to a Neighbouring Justice, living in *Rickmansworth*, whose Name was *Thomas Fotherly*; who concurring with him in Judgment, they concluded that I should be taken up and Prosecuted for it, as a Seditious Book:



Book: For a Libel they could not call it, my 1683.  
Name being to it at length.

Wherefore sending for *Ayrs*, who had brought the Book, Justice *Titchborn* examined him if he knew me, and where I dwelt. Who telling him, He knew me well, and had been often at my House: He gave him in charge to give me Notice, that I should appear before him and the other Justice, at Rickmanſworth on ſuch a Day: Threatning that if I did not appear, he himſelf ſhould be Proſecuted for ſpreading the Book.

This put *William Ayrs* in a Fright. Over he came in haſte with this Meſſage to me; troubled that he ſhould be a means to bring me into Trouble. But I endeavoured to give him Eaſe, by aſſuring him I would not fail (with God's Leave) to appear at the time and place appointed; and thereby free him from Trouble or Danger.


In the Interim I received Advice, by an Expreſs out of *Suffex*, that *Guli Penn* (with whom I had had an Intimate Acquaintance, and firm Friendſhip from our very Youths) was very dangerously Ill (her Huſband being then abſent in *Pennſylvania*) and that ſhe had a great Deſire to ſee and ſpeak with me.

This put me to a great Straight, and brought a ſore Exerciſe on my Mind. I was divided betwixt Honour and Friendſhip. I had engaged my Word to appear before the Juſtices; which to omit, would bring Diſhonour on me and my Profeſſion. To ſtay till that time was come and paſt, might probably prove (if I ſhould

1683. should then be left at Liberty) too late to Answer her desire, and satisfy Friendship.

After some little Deliberation, I resolv'd (as the best Expedient to answer both Ends) to go over next Morning to the Justices, and lay my Straight before them; and try if I cou'd procure from them a Respit of my Appearance before them, until I had been in *Sussex*, and paid the Duty of Friendship to my Sick Friend, Which I had the more Hopes to obtain, because I knew those Justices had a great respect for *Guli*. For when *William Penn* and she were first Married, they lived for some Years at *Rickmansworth*; in which time they contracted a *Neighbourly Friendship* with both these Justices and theirs; who ever after retained a kind regard for them both.

Early therefore in the Morning I rode over. But being wholly a Stranger to the Justices, I went first to *Wasford*, that I might take *Ayrs* along with me, who supposed himself to have some Interest in *Justice Titchborn*; And when I came there, understanding that another Friend of that Town, whose Name was *John Wells*, was well acquainted with the other Justice, *Fotherly*; having imparted to them the Occasion of my coming, I took them both with me, and hasted back to *Rickmansworth*. Where having put our Horses up at an Inn, and leaving *W. Ayrs* (who was a Stranger to *Fotherly*) there; I went with *John Wells* to *Fotherly's* House: and being brought into a fair Hall, I tarried there, while *Wells* went into the Parlour to him, and having acquainted him that I was there, and desired  
to

to speak with him, brought him to me with <sup>1683.</sup> Severity in his Countenance. 

After he had asked me (in a Tone which spake Displeasure) *what I had to say to him?* I told him, I came to wait on him, upon an Intimation given me, that he had something to say to me: He thereupon, plucking my Book out of his Pocket, asked me, *If I owned my self to be the Author of that Book?* I told him If he pleased to let me look into it; if it were mine, I would not deny it. He thereupon giving it into my Hand, when I had turned over the Leaves, and look'd it through, finding it to be as it came from the Press; I told him, I wrote the Book, and would own it, all but the Errors of the Press. Whereupon he, looking sternly on me, answered, *Your own Errors you should have said.*

Having Innocency on my side, I was not at all daunted at either his Speech, or Looks: but feeling the Lord present with me, I replied, I know there are Errors of the Press in it, and therefore I excepted them: but I do not know there is any Error of mine in it, and therefore cannot except them. But (added I) if thou pleasest to shew me any Error of mine in it, I shall readily both acknowledge and retract it, And thereupon I desired him to give me an Instance, in any one Passage in that Book, wherein he thought I had Erred. He said, *he needed not go to particulars: but charge me with the general Contents of the whole Book.* I replied, that such a Charge would be too General, for me to give a Particular Answer to; but if he would assign me

1683. me any particular Passage, or Sentence in the Book, wherein he apprehended the ground of Offence to lie; when I should have opened the Terms, and explained my meaning therein, he might perhaps find Cause to change his Mind, and entertain a better Opinion, both of the Book and me. And therefore I again intreated him, to let me know what particular Passage, or Passages had given him an Offence. He told me, *I needed not to be in so much haste for that; I might have it timely enough, if not too soon: But this, said he, is not the Day appointed for your Hearing; and therefore (added he) what, I pray, made you in such haste to come now?* I told him, I hoped he wou'd not take it for an Argument of Guilt, that I came before I was sent for: and offered my self to my Purgation, before the time appointed. And this I spake with somewhat a brisker Air: which had so much Influence on him, as to bring a somewhat softer Air over his Countenance.

Then, going on, I told him, I had a particular Occasion, which induced me to come now; which was, That I received Advice last Night, by an Express out of *Suffex*, That *William Penn's* Wife (with whom I had had an intimate Acquaintance, and strict Friendship, *ab ipsis fere Incunabilis*, at least, *a teneris Unguiculis*) lay now there very ill; not without great Danger (in the Apprehension of those about her) of her Life: and that she had expressed her desire that I would come to her, as soon as I could; the rather, for that her Husband

band was absent in *America*. That this had 1683. brought a great Straight upon me, being divided between *Friendship* and *Duty*; willing to visit my Friend in her Illness, which the Nature and Law of Friendship required: yet unwilling to omit my *Duty*, by failing of my Appearance (before him and the other Justice) according to their Command and my Promise; lest I should thereby subject, not my own Reputation only, but the Reputation of my Religious Profession to the Suspicion of Guilt, and Censure of wilfully shunning a Tryal. To prevent which I had chosen to anticipate the Time, and come now; to see if I could give them Satisfaction, in what they had to object against me; and thereupon being dismissed, pursue my Journey into *Sussex*; or if by them detained, to submit to Providence; and by an Express to acquaint my Friend therewith, both to free her from an Expectation of my Coming, and my self from any Imputation of Neglect.

While I thus delivered my self, I observed a sensible Alteration in the Justice; and when I had done speaking, he first said he was *very sorry for Madam Penn's Illness*; of whose Virtue and Worth he spake very highly (yet not more than was her due:). Then he told me, *That, for her sake, he would do what he could to further my Visit to her, But, said he, I am but one; and of my self can do nothing in it: therefore you must go to Sir Benjamin Titchborn, and, if he be at home, see if you can prevail with him to meet me, that we may consider of it.*

But

1683. *But I can assure you, added he, the matter which will be laid to your Charge, concerning your Book, is of greater Importance, than you seem to think it. For your Book has been laid before the KING and Council; and the Earl of Bridgwater (who is one of the Council) hath thereupon given us Command to Examine you about it, and secure you.*

I wish, said I, I could speak with the Earl my self: for I make no Doubt but to acquit my self unto him: And, added I, if thou pleasest to give me thy Letter to him; I will wait upon him, with it, forthwith. For although I know, continued I, that he hath no Favour for any of my Perswasion; yet knowing my self to be wholly innocent in this matter, I can with Confidence appear before him, or even before the KING in Council.

*Well, said he, I see you are Confident; but for all that, let me tell you, how good soever your Intention was, you timed the publishing of your Book very unluckily: for you cannot be ignorant, that there is a very dangerous Plot lately discovered, contrived by the Dissenters, against the Government, and His Majesty's Life. (This was the Rie-Plot, then newly broke forth, and laid upon the Presbyterians :) And for you, added he, to publish a Book, just at that Juncture of time, to discourage the Magistrates, and other Officers, from putting in Execution those Laws, which were made to suppress their Meetings; looks, I must tell you, but with a scurvy Countenance upon you.*

If (replied I, with somewhat a pleasanter Air) there was any Mis-timing in the Case, it must  
lie

lie on the Part of those Plotters, for timing the breaking forth of their Plot while my Book was a Printing: for I can bring very good Proof, that my Book was in the Press, and well-nigh wrought off, before any Man talked, or knew of a Plot; but those who were in it. 1683.

Here our Discourse ended, and I, taking, for the present, my leave of him, went to my Horse. and, changing my Companion, rode to Justice *Titchborn's*, having with me *William Ays*, who was best acquainted with him, and who had casually brought this Trouble on me.

When he had introduced me to *Titchborn*, I gave him alike Account of the Occasion of my coming at that time, as I had before given to the other Justice. And both he, and his Lady (who was present) exprest much Concern for *Guli Penn's* Illness.

I found this Man to be of quite another Temper than Justice *Fotherly*: for this Man was smooth, soft and oily; whereas the other was rather rough, severe and sharp. Yet at the winding up, I found *Fotherly* my truest Friend.

When I had told Sir B. *Titchborn*, that I came from Justice *Fotherly*, and requested him to give him a Meeting, to consider of my Business; he readily, without any Hesitation, told me he would go with me to *Rickmansworth* (from which his House was distant about a Mile;) and calling for his Horses, mounted immediately; and to *Rickmansworth* we rode.

After they had been a little while together, I was called in before them; and in the first place they

1683. they Examined me *what was my Intention and Design in writing that Book.* I told them the Introductory Part of it, gave a plain Account of it (*viz.*) " That it was to get Ease from the Penalties of a *Severe Law*; often Executed with " too great a Severity, by unskilful Officers, " who were driven on beyond the Bounds of " their Duty, by the impetuous Threats of a " sort of Insolent Fellows (as needy as greedy) " who, for their own Advantage, sought our " Ruin. To prevent which was the Design, and Drift of that Book; by acquainting such Officers how they might safely demean themselves, in the Execution of their Offices, towards their honest and peaceable Neighbours, without ruining either their Neighbours, or themselves, to enrich some of the worst of Men. And that I humbly conceived It was neither Unlawful, nor Unreasonable for a Sufferer to do this: so long as it was done in a fair, sober and peaceable Way.

They then put me in Mind of the Plot; told me *It was a troublesome and dangerous Time, and my Book might be Construed to import Sedition, in discouraging the Officers from putting the Laws in Execution, as by Law and by their Oath they were bound.* And in fine brought it to this Issue, That they were directed to secure me, by a Commitment to Prison, until the Assize, at which I should receive a further Charge, than they were provided now to give me: but because they were desirous to forward my Visit to Madam Penn, they told me they would admit me to Bail; and therefore if I would enter a Recognizance, with sufficient Sureties, for my



*my Appearance at the next Assize, they would leave me at Liberty to go on my Journey.* 1683. 

I told them; I could not do it. They said *they would give me as little Trouble as they could; and therefore they would not put me to seek Bail: but would accept those two Friends of mine, who were then present, to be bound with me for my Appearance.*

I let them know my Straight lay not in the Difficulty of procuring Sureties; for I did suppose my self to have sufficient Acquaintance, and Credit in that place, if, on such an Occasion I could be free to use it: but, as I knew my self to be an innocent Man, I had not Satisfaction in my self, to desire others to be bound for me, nor to enter my self into a Recognizance; that carrying in it (to my Apprehension) a Reflection on my Innocency, and the Reputation of my Christian Profession.

Here we stuck, and struggled about this a pretty while; till at length, finding me fixed in my Judgment, and resolved rather to go to Prison, than give Bail, they ask'd me *If I was against Appearing, or only against being bound with Sureties to Appear.* I told them I was not against Appearing; which as I could not avoid, if I would; so I would not, if I might: but was ready and willing to Appear, if required; to answer whatsoever should be charged against me. But in any Case of a Religious Nature, or wherein my Christian Profession was concerned (which I took this Case to be) I could not yield to give any other, or further Security than my Word, or Promise, as a Christian.

1682. They, unwilling to commit me, took hold of that; and ask'd, *If I would promise to appear.* I answered, Yes; with due Limitations. *What do you mean by due Limitations,* said they. I mean, replied I, if I am not disabled, or prevented by Sickness, or Imprisonment. For (added I) as you alledge that it is a troublesome Time; I perhaps may find it so. I may, for ought I know, be seized and imprisoned elsewhere, on the same Account for which I now stand here before you; and if I should, how then could I appear at the Assize in this County? Oh, said they, *these are due Limitations indeed! Sickness or Imprisonment are lawful Excuses; and if either of these befall you, we shall not expect your Appearance here: but then you must Certifie us that you are so disabled by Sickness or Restraint.*

But, said I, how shall I know, when and where I shall wait upon you again, after my Return from *Sussex*? *You need not,* said they, *trouble your self about that: we will take care to give you Notice of both Time and Place; and till you hear from us, you may dispose your self as you please.*

Well then, said I, I do promise you, that when I shall have received from you a fresh Command to Appear before you, I will (if the Lord permit me Life, Health and Liberty) appear when and where you shall appoint.

*It is enough,* said they, *we will take your Word:* And, desiring me to give their hearty Respects and Service to Madam Penn, they dismiss me with their good Wishes for a good Journey.

I was

I was sensible, that in this they had dealt very favourably and kindly with me: therefore I could not but acknowledge to them the Sense I had thereof. Which done, I took leave of them, and mounting returned home, with what haste I could, to let my Wife know how I had sped. And having given her a summary Account of the Business; I took Horse again, and went so far that Evening towards *Worminghurst*, that I got thither pretty early next Morning: and, to my great Satisfaction, found my Friend in an hopeful Way towards a Recovery.

I stay'd some Days with her; and then finding her Illness wear daily off, and some other Friends being come from *London* to visit her: I (mindful of my Engagement to the Justices, and unwilling, by too long an Absence, to give them Occasion to suspect I was willing to avoid their Summons) leaving those other Friends to bear her Company longer, took my leave of her and them, and set my Face homewards; carrying with me the welcome Account of my Friend's Recovery.

Being returned home, I waited in daily Expectation of a Command from the Justices, to appear again before them: but none came. I spake with those Friends, who had been with me when I was before them: and they said, *They had heard nothing of it from them, although they had since been in Company with them.* At length the Assize came; but no Notice was given to me, that I shou'd appear there: In fine, they ver troubled themselves, nor me, any further about it.

1682. Thus was a Cloud, that look'd black, and  
 threatened a great Storm, blown gently over, by  
 a providential Breath; which I could not but,  
 with a thankful Mind, acknowledge to the All-  
 great, All-good, All-wise Disposer, in whose  
 Hand, and at whose Command, the Hearts of  
 all Men, even the greatest, are, and who turns  
 their Counsels, disappoints their Purposes, and  
 defeats their Designs and Contrivances, as He  
 pleases. For if my dear Friend *Guli Penn* had  
 not fallen Sick; if I had not thereupon been sent  
 for to her, I had not prevented the time of my  
 Appearance, but had appeared on the Day ap-  
 pointed: And, as I afterwards understood, that  
 was the Day appointed for the Appearance of a  
 great many Persons, of the Dissenting Party in  
 that side of the County, who were to be taken  
 up, and secured, on the Account of the afore-  
 mentioned Plot, which had been cast upon the  
*Presbyterians*. So that if I had then appeared,  
 with and amongst them, I had, in all likelihood,  
 been sent to Goal with them for Company; and  
 that under the Imputation of a Plotter: than  
 which nothing was more contrary to my Profes-  
 sion and Inclination.

But though I came off so easie, it fared not  
 so well with others: for the Storm increasing,  
 many Friends, in divers Parts, both of City and  
 Country, suffered greatly; the Sense whereof  
 did deeply affect me: and the more, for that  
 I observed the Magistrates, not thinking the  
 Laws, which had been made against us, severe  
 enough, perverted the Law, in order to punish  
 us.

us, For calling our peaceable Meetings *Riots* 1683 (which in the Legal Notion of the Word [*Riot*] *is a Contradiction in Terms*) they indicted our Friends as *Rioters*, for only sitting in a Meeting, tho' nothing was there either said or done by them; and then set Fines on them at pleasure.

This I knew to be not only against *Right* and *Justice*; but even against *Law*: and it troubled me to think that we should be made to suffer not only by Laws made directly against us; but even by Laws that did not at all concern us. Nor was it long before I had Occasion offered more thoroughly to consider this Matter.

For a Justice of the Peace in this County (who was called Sir *Dennis Hampson* of *Taplow*) breaking in, with a Party of Horse, upon a little Meeting near *Wooburn*, in his Neighbourhood, the 1<sup>st</sup> of the *Fifth Month*, 1683. sent most of the Men, to the Number of Twenty three, whom he found there, to *Alesbury* Prison, tho' most of them were poor Men, who lived by their Labour: and not going himself to the next *Quarter-Sessions* at *Buckingham*, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the same Month, sent his Clark, with Direction, *That they should be indicted for a Riot*. Whither the Prisoners were carried, and indicted accordingly; and being pressed by the Court to Traverse and give Bail, they moved to be tryed forthwith; but that was denied them. And they, giving in Writing the Reason of their refusing Bail and Fees, were remanded to Prison till next *Quarter-Sessions*; but *William Woodhouse* was again Bailed, (as he had been before) and *William Mason* and *John Reeve*,

1682. who not being Friends, but casually taken at that Meeting, entred *Recognizance*, as the Court desired; and so were released till next Sessions. Before which time *Mason* died, and *Reeve*, being sick, appeared not, but got himself taken off. And in the *Eighth Month* following, the Twenty one Prisoners that remained were brought to Tryal, a Jury was found, who brought in a pretended Verdict, that they were *Guilty of a Riot*, for only sitting peaceably together, without *Word* or *Action*, and tho' there was no Proclamation made, nor they required to depart: but one of the Jury-men afterwards did confess, *he knew not what a Riot was*; yet the Prisoners were fined a Noble a Piece, and re-committed to Prison *during Life* (a hard Sentence) or the *King's Pleasure*, or until they should pay the said Fines, *William Woodhouse* was forthwith discharged, by his Kinsman's paying the Fine and Fees for him. *Thomas Dell* and *Edward Moor* also, by other People of the World, paying their Fines and Fees for them; and shortly after *Stephen Penscy*, by the Town and Parish where he lived, for fear his Wife and Children should become a Charge upon them. The other Seventeen remained Prisoners, till King JAMES's Proclamation of Pardon: whose Names were *Thomas* and *William Sexton*, *Timothy Child*, *Robert Moor*, *Richard James*, *William* and *Robert Alaridge*, *John Ellis*, *George Salter*, *John Smith*, *William Tanner*, *William Batchelor*, *John Dolbin*, *Andrew Brothers*, *Richard Baldwin*, *John Jennings* and *Robert Austin*,

A  
SUPPLEMENT:

*Being a Continuation of the History of the  
Life of THOMAS ELLWOOD;  
Giving Account in particular of his  
Books and Writings.*

OUR dear Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, for whom we cannot but have an honourable Esteem, for his Service in the Church, having written an *Historical Account* of Part of his Life, well worth the Knowledge of Posterity, so far as it goes; viz. to the Year 1683. and there left off. Whether he writ any further; or whether ever he designed it; or for what Reason he did not proceed, is uncertain: but so it is, that no more of it can be found at present; which is to be lamented, he being a Man so Eminent many Ways, that any Part of it should be lost. In Consideration whereof, it rose in my Heart to write something in order to supply the Deficiency thereof: many things occurring to my Mind, which its pity should be omitted. Therefore for the Respect I bore him, and owe to his Memory (being acquainted with him for more than the last Twenty Years of his Life) I shall endeavour to make up that Defect as far as I am capable of; tho' far short of what himself might have done, by giving an Account of some

of the most material Passages of the remaining Part of his Life: and such Memorials of him, and his Works, as came to my Hands: which I shall set down with as much Brèvy and Plainness as I can, in Sincerity to him, and the Truth he professed and adorned. Particularly, of his Labours, Writings, Sufferings and End, from the time he left off.

But first I must look back a little, to give some additional Account of some Passages in relation to his Answers to the *Priests* about *Tythes*, for the Readers Information and Satisfaction, which every Body may not know, to prevent Misapprehensions in the Case.

In the Year 1676, he answered a Nameless Book, miscalled, *A Friendly Conference between a Minister, and a Parishioner of his inclining to Quakerism*; in a Book intituled *Truth prevailing, and detecting Error*: which he divided into Nine Chapters, according to the various Subjects treated of (wherein that nameless Author had endeavoured to misrepresent us) the last of which was of *Tythes*. This (to use his own Words)

Preface  
to Foundation  
of  
Tythes  
Shaken,  
Pag. 1. 2.

‘ pinching the Priests in a tender Part, the Belly  
(as *Erasmus* wittily said *Luther* did the *Monks*)  
‘ made them bestir themselves, and lay their  
‘ Heads together, to consider what was to be  
‘ done. After divers Debates, and much Consultation (as he was informed) about it; it was at last resolved, to Answer that first: which, tho’ the last Chapter in his Book, yet having the first and chiefest Place in the Priests Minds and Affections, the *Priests Delilah*; the very *Darling and*  
*Minion*



*Minion of the Clergy* (says T. E.) *the Oil by which their Lamp is Nourished; the Pay by which their Army is maintained* (as the Priest confesses :) and to take away Tythes, would be to stop the Oil that nourishes the Lamp, and force them to disband for want of Pay. This being I say their chiefest Concern, and lying nearest at Heart, obtain'd from them the first and chiefest Defence: which at length came forth by a nameless Author also, in a Book, intituled, *The Right of Tythes asserted and proved*. To which T. E. reply'd (in 1678,) in a large Book, intituled, *The Foundation of Tythes shaken, and the four principal Posts. (of Divine Institution, Primitive Practice; Voluntary Donation and Positive Laws) on which the Nameless Author of the said Book had set his pretended Right to Tythes, removed*. Tracing them all along, from the Patriarchs to the time of the Law; shewing the Design and Use of them under it; and how they were abolished by the Coming, and Suffering of Christ in the Flesh: and how they came to be set up again in the Declension of the Church, by Popish Kings and Councils, in the Night of Apostacy, for superstitious and Idolatrous Ends and Uses; contrary to the Gospel Dispensation, and consequently not Obligatory on Christians, by any Divine Right, to pay in this Gospel Day; answering all the Objections and Pretences, which were brought by that Author for them, from the Four forementioned Topicks.

To this Book of T. E's. there was a pretended Answer put forth Two Years after, supposed by the

Intro-  
duction.  
Page 3.  
Rights of  
Tythes.  
P. 13.

the Author of the former ; but Nameless still ; the Author not daring to own his Work with his Name, (though since called *Combers*) intituled, *The Right of Tythes Re-asserted* : wherein the Proofs from the four former Points are said to be further *strengthened and vindicated* : especially from the *Objections taken out of Mr. Selden's History of Tythes* : as if it was chiefly designed against *John Selden*, T. E's Name, or Book, not being so much as mentioned in the Title Page, though often in the Book ; as if it was however designed as an Answer to him : which therefore T. E. (though not entitled to it) took in Hand, to rejoin to, and had begun and made some considerable Progress in it ; but before he had gone through, or finished it, some other Occasions falling in his way (of which hereafter) it was laid by, and never finished : though he had writ (as he told me) near *Sixty Sheets* (though I find but *Fourty Six* among his Papers ; but these, with his Notes and Quotations will make near *Sixty*) for he had Collected a vast Number of Materials out of Authors, in order thereto, as appears by his Papers, which I have since seen. For thus it was, That some of the Priests party, vaunting that this Second Book of the Priests was not answered, I took occasion once at London, in the Year 1692, to speak to him about it ; and he told me, *That the Substance of the Priests Arguments, in this Second Book, were answered in his former (The Foundation of Tythes shaken) only some New Quotations, which he had brought ; and that was what he chiefly designed*

to deal with the Priest about, to Examine and Clear, by adding some New Ones also: but that he never expected to have the last Word with the Priests about Tythes; which their Interest lay so much in, that they would never be satisfied; but always be Cavilling about, some way or other, how little soever it was to the Purpose: and some other Services taking him off (as aforesaid) he laid it by. Which I mention to satisfy any who may Question in their Minds, why it was never answered (or at least gone through) and this is the Reason why I resumed this Matter.

‘ In handling the Argument of Tythes (says he, in a Paper found among his Manuscripts, as an *Introduction* to his said intended Answer) I write with this Disadvantage, That I encounter a numerous Party and Order of Men, with whom *Interest* is far more prevalent than *Truth*; whose *Profit* will not permit them to yield to *Reason*; whose *Advantage* will not suffer them to acknowledge the plainest *Demonstration*: their *Gain* as apparently lying in that which I oppose, as *Demetrius's*, and his Fellow-Craftsmen, the *Silversmiths* of *Ephesus* did in that which the Apostle preached against, *Acts* 19. 25, 26. Hence is it that they bend all their Strength, and imploy their utmost Force to maintain this Point, by which they are maintained; and like those *Shrine-makers* of old, they endeavour to carry it by Noise and Clamour, instead of Truth and Reason, Nor do they regard what they say, how false soever; or whom they bespatter, how undeservedly


servedly foever, in order to the upholding  
 their adored *Diana*, and enjoying their most  
 beloved *Delilah*, T T T H E S. My present  
 Adversary is not ashamed to say (p. 1, 2.) *That*  
*I, and my fellow Quaking Speakers* (as he re-  
 proachfully calls us) *have our Gain by Railing*  
*against Tythes.* A Charge so apparently and  
 ridiculously False, that it needs no more than  
 its own Malice and Folly to detect it. With  
 equal Reason might *Demetrius* have charged  
 St. Paul, that he and his Brethren had their  
 Gain by impugning the Idolatrous Worship  
 of *Diana*.

' *Sacrilege* and *Idolatry*, the Priests say, are  
 ' *Sins near of kin*: but *Covetousness* and the Cler-  
 ' *gy* are perhaps nearer. The great Outcry a-  
 ' gainst *Sacrilege* is made for the most part by  
 ' Idolaters and false Ministers; who, as they  
 ' are most greedy and crafty to get, so are they  
 ' most solicitous and careful to keep, most enra-  
 ' ged and clamorous, when they come to lose  
 ' their unjustly acquired Gains. Thus was it  
 ' with the *Popish Clergy*, after they had gull'd  
 ' the People by a religious Cheat, of a great  
 ' part of their Substance, they laboured to ter-  
 ' rify them, by the Name of *Sacrilege*, from  
 ' attempting to recover that which had been so  
 ' fraudulently gotten from them, and doubtless  
 ' the *English Clergy*, as they derive [in chief  
 ' part] the Maintenance they possess from their  
 ' Predecessors, the *Popish Clergy*; from whom  
 ' they received their *Priesthood*, have therewith  
 ' also taken up from them their Old Cry of Sa-  
 ' crilege,

' *sacrilege*, with which, as a Bugbear, they  
 ' would scare all from attempting to discover  
 ' the *Cheat*. But the legal Alienation of a great  
 ' Part of those surreptitious Acquisitions of the  
 ' *Clergy*, begun in *HENRY the Eighth's* Time,  
 ' carried on in *EDWARD the Sixth's*, and  
 ' compleated in *Q. ELIZABETH's* (of  
 ' these three, the two last were *Protestant* Prin-  
 ' ces) hath abated the Edge of that *Clerical*  
 ' Weapon, and satisfied the dis-intrested Part  
 ' of the Nation, that the Word [*Sacrilege*] in  
 ' this Case, is but like a Scare-crow, especially  
 ' when used by the Priests for their own Profit;  
 ' as most commonly it is: for though they pre-  
 ' tend the Maintenance of *God's Worship*, yet it  
 ' is their own Maintenance they intend. And  
 ' herein *Demetrius* and they most patly agree:  
 ' for he also urged (as the most specious Pre-  
 ' tence, and which was most likely to impress  
 ' the People) the Danger, lest, by *Paul's* Preach-  
 ' ing, *the Temple of the great Goddess Diana*  
 ' *should be despised, and her Magnificence destroyed,*  
 ' *Acts 19. 27.* Whereas the great Inducement  
 ' to him for stirring, was the danger lest his  
 ' Craft should be set at nought, and he should  
 ' thereby lose the Gains he made by *Diana's*  
 ' *Temple*, ver. 25, 27. Do the Priests now cry  
 ' out against *Sacrilege*? So did *Demetrius* and  
 ' his Craftsmen then. Did they cloak their pri-  
 ' vate Interest with a seeming Regard, and  
 ' Care for the *Temple and Magnificence of their*  
 ' *Goddess Dinna*? So do the *Priests* theirs now,  
 ' with a pretence of Zeal for the *Worship of God*.  
 ' Did

' Did they in their Fury take no notice of ~~the~~  
 ' *Magistrates* nor *Laws* of their Country? So  
 ' neither do many of the *Priests* now, who with-  
 ' out regard to *Law* or *Magistrates*, run Furi-  
 ' ously and Tumultuously into their Neighbours  
 ' Grounds, with their Servants and Teams,  
 ' and Forcibly, and Arbitrarily Take, and car-  
 ' ry away their *Corn* and *Hay*; when, where,  
 ' and in what Quantity they please: Will the  
 ' *Priests* alledge, that, notwithstanding these  
 ' irregular Practices; yet they have the *Laws*  
 ' and *Magistrates* on their sides: So had *De-*  
 ' *metrius* and his Company too, while the  
 ' good *Apostle*, not backt by *Laws*, nor counte-  
 ' nanced by *Magistracy*; was yet Enabled, by  
 ' *Divine Assistance*, to stand the shock of all  
 ' their Rage and Fury, and boldly to Testifie a-  
 ' gainst that which was Corrupt and Naught,  
 ' although it had the Favour and Support of a  
 ' *Law* and *Magistracy* too: And indeed, so apt  
 ' is the Comparifon in most Respects, between  
 ' those *Shrine-Makers*, and these *Tythe-Takers*,  
 ' that my Adversary in vain Labours to Retort  
 ' it; for even the very particulars he instances  
 ' to cast it upon me, fix it the more firmly on  
 ' the Head of himself, and his own Party.

' Nor is he less put to it, to avoid the force of  
 ' his own unwary Expressions of the *Oyl for the*  
 ' *Lamp*, and *Pay for the Soldier*; whereby he  
 ' hath discovered, that he and his Brethren, are  
 ' meer mercenary Men, whose *Lamp* will burn  
 ' no longer than it is fed with the *Oyl of Tythes*.  
 ' This was one of the *Arcana Cleri*, a Secret (it  
 ' seems)

‘ seems) that should not have been divulged.  
‘ But *Children*, and he knows who besides, are   
‘ said to tell true. And he having inconsiderat-  
‘ ly blab’d it out, his chief Care and Art is now  
‘ how to palliate, extenuate and mince the  
‘ Matter, and varnish it over, with some kind  
‘ of flourish, that the ground of it may not be  
‘ seen; but this he does so weakly, and lays his  
‘ Colour so thin, that even the weakest Eye may  
‘ easily see through it. The mention I made of  
‘ these Passages in my former Book, he calls *te-*  
‘ *dious and nauseous Repetitions*: and tedious no  
‘ doubt, and nauseous it is to him and his Bre-  
‘ thren, to see the false Foundation of their Mi-  
‘ nistry so openly exposed: but so little do I fear  
‘ those Repetitions being nauseous or tedious to  
‘ the indifferent Reader, that upon this Occasion  
‘ I desire him to peruse them again, in the 6, 7,  
‘ 8 and 9 Pages of my former Book.

‘ *From Tythes, being the Oyl to their Lamp, and*  
‘ *Pay to their Army*, He says, I draw (as I ima-  
‘ gin) a cutting Consequence, viz. *That their*  
‘ *Lamps will not burn without Oyl, nor they Fight*  
‘ *without Pay*. This Cutting Consequence (as he  
‘ calls it) he touches as tenderly, as if he was  
‘ afraid it would cut his Fingers; though he  
‘ well knew, that in the Wording of it, he had  
‘ taken off its Edge as much as he could: For if  
‘ my Consequence had been only that their  
‘ *Lamps will not burn without Oyl*, it would not  
‘ then have been so Keen. He might then have  
‘ Replied, *Whose will? Can any Lamp burn with-*  
‘ *out Oyl?* No sure: Every *Lamp* must have *Oyl*:  
‘ But

' But the Oyl should be suitable to the Lamp;  
 ' an Outward Lamp, should have Outward Oyl;  
 ' an Inward Lamp, Inward Oyl. Now they pre-  
 ' tending their Ministry to be a Spiritual Lamp,  
 ' a Religious Lamp (as the True Ministry indeed  
 ' is; and is, and can be, Nourished only by the  
 ' Spiritual Heavenly Oyl of the Divine Eternal  
 ' Word;) and yet Confessing Tythes to be the Oyl  
 ' that Nourishes their Ministerial Lamp, and with-  
 ' out which their Lamp will not Burn: This plain-  
 ' ly shews, their Lamp is not Spiritual, nor their  
 ' Ministry what they Pretend, &c.

By this we may Judge, *Ex pede Herculem*, of  
 the Priests performance; and T. E's Answer,  
 had he gone through and finished it; which yet  
 I hope, so far as he hath gone, may, one time  
 or other, see the Light, being well worth the  
 Perusal as it is; and had he finished it, I am sa-  
 tisfied, it would have been a very serviceable  
 Piece: No Hand, in my Judgment, being more  
 Capable of such a Performance. But he had,  
 as I said, some other Services on his Hands to  
 divert him: Of which, his Answer to *William*  
*Rogers's* great Book aforesaid, in 1682. Intitu-  
 led, *An Antidote against the Infection of William*  
*Rogers's Book, miscalled the Christian Quaker*:  
 In Five Parts, soon after; no doubt, was one,  
 containing above Thirty Sheets: In which he  
 Answered him, Chapter by Chapter; and al-  
 most Paragraph by Paragraph; in Relation to  
 Church Government, and the good Order of  
 Truth, Established amongst us; and also as to  
 most of the Principles of Truth, which the said

W. R.



*W. R.* in one part of his Work, had endeavour'd to Pervert to his own Ends. A Laborious Work it was, and difficult task to go through so evenly as he hath done: And though it is Controversie, yet pleasant to Read. As also his *Caution to Constables, and other Inferior Officers, concerning the Execution of the Conventicle-Act. With some Observations thereupon. Humbly offered, by way of Advice, to such Well-meaning and Moderate Justices of the Peace, as would not willingly Ruin their Peaceable Neighbours, &c.* Which is mentioned in his own Account.

And now to come to the time, where he 1683. breaks off his own Relation, and to carry it on, in some measure; though far short and inferior, to what his own Hand could have done: For it cannot be expected, that any one can write another Man's Life like himself; there being many Passages, Publick and Private, Outward and Inward, even as to the frame of his own Mind and Condition, between God and his own Soul; which, as *No Man knoweth the things of a Man, save the Spirit of a Man which is in him*: So none can Relate but himself; or like himself: For as the Wise Man says, *The Heart knoweth his own Bitterness, and the Stranger cannot intermeddle with his Joy.* But what occurs from my own Knowledge, or from his Books and Papers, pertinent to the case in Hand, shall faithfully be Related.

Therefore to resume the Thread of his Discourse, and begin where he leaves off. He intimates at the Close of his own Account that the

1682. Magistrates not thinking the Laws made against us (*viz.* the *Conventicle-Act*, &c.) severe enough, perverted the Law, by making our *Peaceable Meetings Riots*; and Indicting our *Friends as Rioters*, that they might Fine at Pleasure: Which he knew to be contrary to Law and Justice; nor was it long (says he) before he had occasion offered, more thoroughly to Consider this matter (*viz.* the breaking up of the Meeting near *Wooburn*, by Justice *Hampson*; sending Friends to Prison, and Indicting them for a *Riot*;) which shews he design'd to write a Book on that Subject (though he doth not mention it) and accordingly did this Year (after the *Caution to Constables*, &c. as aforesaid.) This he called *A Discourse concerning Riots: Occasioned by some of the People called Quakers. being Indicted for a Riot*, &c. Of which he gives (by way of Preface) this further Account. 'The Proceedings of late in City and Country, against some of the People called *Quakers* for *Riots*, for only Meeting *Peaceably* together to *Serve* and *Worship* GOD, first put me upon enquiring into the Nature of *Riots*: What, upon inquiry, I have found, I here present to publick View, for common Benefit; that none through Ignorance, may be the occasion of bringing an *Unjust Suffering* upon an *Innocent People*, and thereby Guilt on themselves. I do not pretend much Skill in *Law* (a Study and Profession I was never bred to) but having spent some Hours on this occasion, in searching what the Law Books say in this Case; I hope I may (with-

‘ (without incurring the Censure of Presump- 1682.  
 ‘ tion) communicate my Gleaning to such of  
 ‘ my well meaning Country Men, as have not  
 ‘ Leisure or Opportunity to inform themselves  
 ‘ otherwise. I solemnly declare, I have no o-  
 ‘ ther End, or Aim in this Work, than to *do*  
 ‘ *Good*, and *prevent Evil*: Which Consideration,  
 ‘ with Men of Candour and Ingenuity, will be,  
 ‘ I hope, a sufficient Apology, for my seeming  
 ‘ boldness in this Undertaking. And so he pro-  
 ceeds to set forth what *Riots* are in the Law, and  
 Law Books; of which he cites divers (and  
 Scripture too) to shew that our Peaceable Meet-  
 ings (which in those Days they used to make *Ri-*  
*ots*; that they might Imprison and Fine us at  
 Pleasure) could not be *Riots*; tho’ thro’ Igno-  
 rance, or Envy, they were often so rendred  
 (which shewed their Injustice) Saying, ‘ How  
 ‘ truly I have stated the Case on the one hand,  
 ‘ with respect to *Riots*; the many Quotations in  
 ‘ the foregoing Discourse, will shew. How  
 ‘ true an Account, on the other Hand, I have  
 ‘ given of our Meetings, the whole Nation  
 ‘ (and all Nations where we have Meetings)  
 ‘ may Judge upon the whole. (says he) My  
 ‘ request is, that all, both *Justices* and *Ju-*  
 ‘ *rors*, who have or shall be Concerned, in this  
 ‘ or the like Case, will seriously weigh the mat-  
 ‘ ter; and not strain the Law beyond its due  
 ‘ Extent. (adding) ‘To Oppress any by colour  
 ‘ of Law, is the greatest abuse of Law. Con-  
 cluding with a serious Re-capitulation, and  
 Application of the whole: That none for the  
 future

1682. future might Err Ignorantly in that Respect; and if any would willfully, they might be left without Excuse.

About the same time, or not long after, he writ also, *A Seasonable Disswasive from Persecution: Humbly and Modestly, yet with Christian freedom, and plainness of Speech, offered to the Consideration of all concerned therein; on Behalf generally, of all that suffer for Conscience sake: Particularly the People called Quakers.* In the beginning of which, he defines what *Persecution* is. *Persecution* (says he) is a word of so harsh a Sound, and so generally Distastfull to *English* Ears, that scarce any of those who are most forward and active in that Work, are willing to have their Actions called by that Name. That none therefore, who have set an Hand to that Work, or whose Minds are any whit inclining thereto; may, from the dislike they have to the Word [*Persecution*] Reject this *Disswasive*, as a thing wherein they are not Concerned: I think it needful here to declare, what it is I mean by *Persecution*. By *Persecution* then, I intend a *Forcing, or Compelling any, by Pains or Penalties, Bodily or Pecuniary, to Relinquish or Forsake that Exercise of Religion, or way of Worship, which they believe to be the Right way of Worship; and the true and acceptable Exercise of Religion, which God hath required of them. And to Receive, Embrace, Conform to, and perform some other Exercise of Religion, and way of Worship; which they who are so Compelled, are either firmly perswaded is not the Right; or at least,*

least, have no belief that it is Right. This (in 1683  
 short) is that which I call *Persecution*; and  
 this is that which I Disswade from, whatever  
 other Name, the Actors of it may please  
 themselves in calling it by.

L. To begin with the first of these, *viz.* the  
 Forcing, or Compelling any to Forsake, and  
 and Leave that Exercise of Religion, or way of  
 Worship, &c. The Reasons by which he en-  
 deavours to dissuade all Men from such an un-  
 dertaking, are these. [*i. e.* the Heads of them]

1. You may, for ought you know, be found  
*Fighting against God*: You are not, you cannot  
 be, upon your own Principles, infallibly sure,  
 that that way of Worship, which you thus  
 endeavour to force us from, is not the true  
 Worship of God.— 2. By endeavouring to  
 force us from that way of Worship, which  
 we believe the Lord hath led us into, and re-  
 quireth of us; you endeavour to force us, to  
 make *Shipwreck of Faith*.— 3. In endeavouring  
 by Force and Cruelty, to Restrain us from  
 Worshipping God as (we are fully perswaded)  
 he hath Taught us, and doth Require us: You  
 go out of the Path of the Righteous, and tread  
 in the Steps of the Wicked and Ungodly.—  
 4. That Exercise of Religion which you  
 would force us from; is not simply of it self,  
 Condemned and Disallowed by that Law, by  
 the Severity of which, you would force us  
 from it.— 5. In thus eagerly Pursuing us, and  
 Disturbing our Peaceable Meetings; you give  
 your selves, as well as us, a great deal of need-

1682. 'less Trouble.— *Refrain from these Men, and let*  
 ' *them alone.*— 6. And lastly, Be pleased to Con-  
 ' sider, what sort of Agents and Instruments  
 ' you are fain to make use of (and not seldom  
 ' are your selves made use of by) to carry on  
 ' this Work. Concluding this part thus: O ne-  
 ' ver give Cause for this *Epitaph* to be written  
 ' on your Tombs, **Here lies a Persecutor of**  
 ' **the People of God.**

II. Now for the other Branch of *Persecution*,  
*viz. The Forcing, or Compelling of any, by Pains*  
*or Penalties, to Receive, Embrace, Conform to;*  
*and Perform some Exercise of Religion, and way of*  
*Worship, &c.* The Reasons by which he en-  
 deavours to dissuade all Men from such an Un-  
 dertaking; are these (*viz.* the Heads.)

' 1. In thus imposing your way of Worship  
 ' upon others, you act quite contrary to Christ  
 ' and his Apostles.— 2. In thus imposing your  
 ' way of Worship upon others, you follow the  
 ' worst of Patterns, *Nebuchadnezzar King of Ba-*  
 ' *bylon, &c.*— 3. In forcing People to your way  
 ' of Worship, who have no Belief that it is the  
 ' right, you cause them to Sin: for *whatsoever*  
 ' *is not of Faith is Sin.*— 4. In forcing People to  
 ' your way of Worship, who have a firm Per-  
 ' swasion and Belief that it is not the right; you  
 ' make Men *Hypocrites* and *Time-servers.*— 5. By  
 ' obtruding and inforcing your Religion up-  
 ' on others, you greatly disparage and under-  
 ' value it, and give Men the more ground to  
 ' suspect and dislike it.— 6. You break that  
 ' great Command, which Christ says is the *Law*  
 ' and

‘ and the Prophets, viz. *All things whatsoever ye* 1683.  
 ‘ *would that Men should do to you, do ye even so* W  
 ‘ *to them, Mat. 7. 12.—*

All these Reasons are illustrated and backed with Scripture and Reason, concluding with a very close and seasonable Application to our *Persecutors*. A solid serious Discourse it is, if any Arguments had been sufficient to dissuade Men from *Persecution* (of which there was very great about this time; particularly in *London, Bristol, and divers other Places*) the whole being well worth Perusal: and I should have inclined to insert it at large, but that it hath pleased God to incline the Hearts of our Superiours to ease us in that respect, by Granting a Toleration to *Protestant Dissenters*: for which we are thankful. These three, viz. the *Caution to Constables, Discourse of Riots, and Dissuasive from Persecution*, were all Written, or at least Printed, this Year, 1683.

And he acquitted himself so well on these 1684. Subjects, that one *William Tournay* (to him unknown) sent him a Letter from *London*, taking Notice of the aforesaid *Tracts*, which he was so well pleased with, that he desired his Judgment on the 23d, 29th and 35th of Q. *ELIZABETH*, in Relation to the Proceedings then upon them: to which our Friend T. E. return'd him an Answer in a large Letter, which is in his *Decades of Letters*, among many others, to divers Persons, and on various Subjects, well worthy the Perusal, from the Year 1670, down to his latter Times: and if they were published,

1684. would help to supply the deficiency of his own  
 Account of the latter Part of his Life.

About this time he writ the following P  
 O  
 E  
 M, or H  
 Y  
 M  
 N of Praise to the Lord; which  
 I think well deserves to be inserted in this  
 Place: Intituled,

### COLLAUDEMUS DOMINUM.

C  
 O  
 M  
 E, let us Praise the LORD with one  
 Consent,  
 All ye, whose Hearts to honour him are bent.  
 Come, let us of his gracious Dealings tell;  
 For with us he hath dealt exceeding well,  
 When him we did not seek; he did us find,  
 He gave us Sight, when we were dark and blind.  
 He brought us home, when we were run astray;  
 And set our Feet in th'<sup>e</sup> new and living way,  
 When Hunger pin'd he gave us heavenly Bread:  
 And, with the choicest Dainties, hath us fed.  
 He from mis-leading Guides deliver'd hath,  
 And led us forward in the Just Man's Path,  
 He hath with Strength and Courage us endu'd,  
 With Zeal for Truth and Christian Fortitude;  
 He Wisdom from above doth daily give:  
 To them that in his Truth sincerely live.  
 In Battle he hath us preserv'd thus far,  
 And made us Victors in the Holy War,  
 Our Enemies he greatly hath subdu'd,  
 His Sword in Blood oth' slain hath been imbru'd.  
 He hath preserved from the Roaring Lion:  
 And brought a little Remnant safe to Sion,

Where,



Where, in his Presence, they sit down and Sing 1684.  
 Eternal *Hallelu-jah's* to their KING,  
 Who lives and reigns, and may his Reign extend  
 Throughout the Universe, and have no End.

T. E.

But, to proceed :

*William Rogers*, whom our Author Answered in the Year 1682, (as aforesaid) though he did not Reply to it, or ever attempted it that I have heard of, putting forth a Rhiming Scourge for *George Whitehead*; against whom he bent his most Inveterate Spleen, and who had also Answered his great Book, falsely called, *The Christian Quaker*, in a Book intituled, *The Accuser of the Brethren cast down*, &c. T. E. writ an Answer 1685. to his Scourge in Verse, intituled, *Rogero-Mastix, A Rod for William Rogers, in return for his Rhiming Scourge*: For which he gives the following Reason.

To such as ask why I in Verse have writ?  
 This Answer I return, I held it fit,  
 Verse shou'd in Verse be answer'd, Prose in Prose.  
 My Adversary his own Weapon chose.  
 He chose before in Prose to write, and then  
 I answer'd him in Prose. So now again,  
 Since he his Style from Prose to Verse hath chang'd,  
 And in the Muses Walks hath boldly rang'd,  
 In his own Method him I chose to treat,  
 Lest he should wise be in his own Conceit.

Prov:  
 26: 5.

And begins thus:

The Preacher tells us, that beneath the Sun  
 There's no new thing: for, That which shall  
 be done, Hath

1685. Hath been before; *And* what is now a doing

Shall acted be again, in Times ensuing.

*Let none be shaken, therefore, in his Mind,*

*If he God's People now Reviled find,*

*Reproach'd with bitter words, and vilify'd,*

*With filthy Slanders loaded, and bely'd*

*By wicked Men. Such was the Churches State*

*Of old, as Sacred Story doth relate.*

And having recounted the Opposition made by Rabsbaketh, Sanballat and Tobiah, &c. to the Jews, and Diotrephes to the Apostles; he proceeds, Page 6.

*By these Examples, plainly it appears,*

*How Satan play'd his Pranks in former Tears;*

*What Arts he us'd; how craftily he wrought;*

*What Instruments, whereby to work, he sought:*

*One while, professed Enemies, and then*

*Another while he chose false Brethren.*

*And though those Agents now are dead and gone,*  
*Satan remains the same, the Evil One.*

*He Mischief always to the Church intends,*

*And, Mischief to effect, his Agents sends.*

*Though Rabsbaketh be dead, Tobiah rotten,*

*Sanballat and Diotrephes forgotten,*

*The wicked Spirit that in them did strive*

*Against God's Truth and Church, is still alive;*

*And other Instruments doth daily raise,*

*To hinder Truth's fair Progress, in these Days.*

*He Agents has, great store, of ev'ry Size*

*And Sort. How numerous are Truth's Enemies!*

*Yet blest be God! A greater Number's those*

*That stand for Truth, than those that it oppose.*

*I lift*

I list not here a Muster-Roll to make  
Of all who, from without, in hand did take  
To Battle against Truth, and shoke their Spears  
At Israel's Camp within these Twenty Years.  
Nor do I purpose to ennum'rate all,  
Who, in that time, themselves did Quakers call,  
That through misguided Zeal, or Discontent,  
Their Bows against their Brethren have bent.  
But since some few, of late, appear to be  
With Rage and Envy fill'd, to that degree,  
That with more Bitterness than all the rest,  
Their Malice against Truth they have express'd.  
My Purpose is to single out from these  
Him, that appears as their Diotrephes.  
And that is ROGERS: For tho' Crisp and Bug,  
With other some, do at the same Oar tug,  
And Toil hard at it too, with all their Might,  
Yet can they do no more but shew their Spight.  
And for the rest, that lie behind the Skreen,  
And move the Wheels, but like not to be seen;  
Although they help to carry on the Work,  
I take less notice of them, while they Lark.

Them therefore leaving I return again,  
To view Will. Rogers his Poetick Strain;  
Who having been too often soil'd in Prose,  
To try his Fortune now in Verse hath chose;  
If Verse, without Offence, that may call'd,  
Which is delivered in Rhimes so bald,  
So flat, so dull, so rough, so void of Grace,  
Where Symphony and Cadence have no place;  
So full of Chasmes, stuck with Prose Pegs,  
Whereon his tired Muse might rest her Legs,

(Not

1685.

W

1685. (*Not having Wings*) and take new Breath, that then  
 She might, with much ado, hop on agen.

His [*Words to that Effect,—Why so,—How so?*  
*Hence I observe,—Hence I conclude,—*] do show,  
 His Purfy Muse was often out of Wind,  
 And glad when she a perching place could find.

What drew thee William, to this Rhiming fit,  
 Having no more Propensity to it?  
 Could'st think such hobling, and unequal Rhimes,  
 That make a Jangling, like disorder'd Chimes,  
 Could of a POEM e'er deserve the Name,  
 Or e'er be read without the Author's Shame?  
 What Clouds of Darkneß in thy Lines appear!  
 How is thy Stile perplex'd! How far from clear!  
 Thy Muse is wrapt in thickest Fogs of Night,  
 Which shews thou art departed from the Light.  
 Nor Sun, nor Moon, nor Star throughout thy Book  
 Is to be seen. No Spring nor Christal Brook  
 Glides through thy Margin. No, thy Waters run  
 Black, like the Streams of Styx, or Phlegeton.

And having gone through, and Answered  
 this Adversaries Book, he lums it up, and con-  
 cludes as followeth. Page 29.

William, Thy Work is weigh'd, thy Spirit try'd;  
 And both thy Work and Spirit are deny'd.

Thy Spirit is the same that wrought of old  
 In Sanballat, Tobiah, and the bold  
 Assyrian Railer, Rabshakeh, who sought  
 God's Work and People to have brought to nought,  
 As thou hast done: And what the Prophet cry'd  
 In that Case, may to thee be well apply'd.

The Virgin hath despis'd thee, Zion's Daughter  
 Makes thee the Object of her Scorn and Laughter.

The

The Daughter of Jerusalem hath shook  
 At thee her Head (*with a disdainful Look :*)  
 For, whom hast thou Reproached and Blas-  
 phem'd,

1685.



And against whom hast thou so loudly scream'd,  
 And lift thine Eyes on high? Thy Spleen doth swell  
 Against the Holy One of Israel.

To this effect the Prophet did declaim

Against the Proud Assyrian, from whom came

That cursed Railer, who e'en seems to be,

In Railing Blasphemies, a Type of thee.

What Nehemiah to Sanballat said,

(When he foul Slanders to his Charge had laid)

That I to thee, of all thy Slanders, Thus,

There are no such things acted, amongst us,

As thy abusive Pamphlet doth contain;

But out of thine own Heart thou dost them feign.

And where thou carp'st at what we do aright,

We can for Truth's sake, in Reproach delight.

The Lord rebuilding is his Holy City,

Which thou and others envy (*more's the pity*)

And put forth all the Strength and Art you have,

The Work to stop, the Workmen to deprave.

But never be so vain, to think you can

The Work obstruct: 'tis not the Work of Man.

The God of Heaven; He will prosper us;

And therefore we his Servants, (*strengthened thus*)

Will rise and build, as God shall us endue

With Courage, Strength and Counsel for't: But you

No Portion have, who do the Work condemn,

Right nor Memorial in JERUSALEM.


My Soul laments your State, who once have felt  
 That tendering Pow'r, which stony Hearts can melt.

And

1685. *And have been in some measure, tend'red by it;  
 But now so hard'ned are as to defie it:  
 All you I mean, who have in Print appear'd  
 (With Envious Hearts, and Conscience doubly fear'd)  
 To fight against the Truth, and to expose  
 God's People to the Fury of their Foes.  
 And all you too, who do that Work abet,  
 Although your Names thereto ye have not set.  
 Ah! had ye kept unto the heav'nly Grace,  
 (Which in your inward Parts the Lord did place)  
 And not, in discontented Humour, run  
 After Lo-heres, Lo-theres, as you have done;  
 Ye might, in Truth, the Bond of Peace have known,  
 And in the Spirits Unity have grown,  
 Which is the Churches Girdle, highly priz'd  
 By all the Faithful, though by you despis'd,  
 Whereas (by letting in first false Surmisings  
 Of others, which e're long produc'd Despisings,  
 And so made way for Prejudice to enter,  
 Till cancred Malice in your Hearts did center)  
 Ye now are broke, and into Pieces Shatter'd,  
 And from the Body and Head are Scatter'd.  
 Without the Camp ye stand (Oh dismal State!)  
 Snarling amongst the Dogs, without the Gate;  
 Belching forth Slander and Calumniation  
 'Gainst those that in the Light have kept their  
 Station.*

*Oh! may the God of Heaven stop your Way,  
 That ye no more the Simple may betray.*

*I could not but recite thus much, of the  
 Beginning and End of that Book, which is so  
 Excellent, both for the Subject and Composure,  
 that*

that one may sooner Transcribe too little than 1685.  
too much; the whole being well worth the   
Reading.

In the Second Month, 1686, he had a Con- 1686.  
cern upon his Spirit, in a deep Sense of the Enemies working, to sow Divisions, and endeavouring to lay waste the Testimony of Truth, to write an Epistle to *Friends*, which he did, very solidly and weightily; to stir up Friends to Faithfulness, and to beware of the Enemies Wiles, and avoid that Rending Dividing Spirit, which was then at work, to cause Division and Strife among Friends: which being so Seasonable and Excellent, both for Matter and Stile, the whole is thought meet to be here inserted at large; and is as followeth:


## AN EPISTLE to FRIENDS.

**D**EAR Friends, unto whom the gathering Arm of the Lord hath reached, and who have known, in your several Measures, a being gathered thereby into the heavenly Life, and are Witnesses of the preserving Power, by which ye have been kept faithful to the Lord, and regardful of his Honour: Unto you, in an especial manner, is the Salutation of my true and tender Love in the Lord; and for you, as for my self, are the Breathings and fervent Desires

1686. fires of my Soul offered up, in the One Spirit, unto Him, who is your God and mine; that both you and I may be for ever kept in the fresh Sense of his tender Mercies, and great Loving-kindness unto us, that therein our Souls may cleave firmly unto Him, and never depart from Him. For Friends, it is a trying Day, a Day of great Difficulty and Danger, wherein the Enemy is at work, and very busie, setting his Snares on every side; and spreading his Temptations on every hand: And some, alas! have entred thereinto, and are caught and held therein, for whom my Soul in secret mourns.

And truly Friends, a great weight hath been upon my Spirit for many Days, and my Mind hath been deeply exercised, in the sence I have of the Enemy's prevailing, by one Bait or other, to unsettle the Minds of some, whom the Arm of the Lord had reached unto, and in some measure gathered to a resting Place: But not abiding in that pure Light, by which they were at first visited, and to which they were at first turned, the *Understanding* hath been veiled again; the *Eye*, which was once in some measure opened, hath the God of the World insensibly Blinded again, and Darknes is again come over, to that degree, that they can now contentedly take up again, what in the Day of their Convincement, and in the time of their true Tenderess, they cast off as a Burthen too heavy to be born. O my Friends, this hath been the Enemy's Work: therefore it greatly behoves all to watch against him; for it hath been for want  
of



of Watchfulness, that he hath got entrance in-1686.  
to any. For when the Mind hath been from   
off the true Watch, in a secure and careless  
State, then hath he secretly wrought, and pre-  
sented his fair Baits, his Allurements or Entice-  
ments by Pleasure or Profit, to catch the unwary  
Mind. And hence it hath come to pass that  
some, who have come out fairly, and begun  
well, and have seemed in good Earnest to have  
set their Hands to God's Plow, have looked  
back, and been weary of the Yoke of Christ,  
and have either *lusted after the Flesh-pots of Egypt*  
again, or turned aside into some By-path or  
crooked way in the Wilderness, and thereby  
have fallen short of the promised good Land.

But you, my dear Friends, in whom the  
Word of Life abides, and who abide in the Ver-  
tue and Savour thereof, ye know the Wiles of  
the Enemy, and the Power which subdues him,  
and the Rock in which the Preservation and  
Safety is. So that I write not these things unto  
you, because ye know them not: But the End  
of my thus writing is, to stir up the pure Mind  
in all, upon whom the Name of the Lord is cal-  
led, that we all may be provoked to Watchful-  
ness against the Workings of the wicked One.  
Therefore, dear Friends, bear, I beseech you,  
the Word of Exhortation, though from one  
that is little and low (and through Mercy sensi-  
ble of it) and who hath not been accustomed  
to appear after this manner: For the Wind, ye  
know, *bloweth where it listeth.*

A a

Friends,

1686. Friends, Call to Mind the former Times,  
 and remember the Days that are past and gone,  
 when the Day of the Lord first dawned unto  
 you, and his Power seized upon you. Ye know  
 how weighty and retired the Spirits of Friends  
 then were, how grave and solid their Deport-  
 ment and Carriage; how few and favoury their  
 Words, tending to edifie the Hearers; how  
 great a Fear and Backwardness was in them,  
 to enter into Familiarity with the World's Peo-  
 ple. O Friends, that was a good Day, and that  
 was a safe State; for Fear begets Watchfulness,  
 and Watchfulness is a means to prevent Danger.  
 Therefore all Friends, keep in the Holy Fear,  
 and therein watch against the Enemy, that he  
 entangle you not, nor hurt your Spirits, by a  
 too near Familiarity, and intimate Converse  
 with the People of the World; for therein I as-  
 sure you, lies a Snare. For though it be both  
 lawful and necessary, and in some Cases also  
 useful and serviceable to the Truth to Converse  
 with them that are without: yet if any Friend  
 should adventure in a frank and free Mind, *beyond the Limits of the pure Fear*, to entertain Fa-  
 miliarity with the World's People, the Spirit  
 of the World in them will *seek an Entrance*, and;  
 if not diligently watched against, will also *get*  
*an Entrance*; and bring a hurt and a loss upon  
 him or them into whom it so gets. For being  
 once entred, it will insensibly work, and dis-  
 pose the Mind into which it is got, to a Conde-  
 scention to, and Compliance with the People of  
 the World it converses with, first in one thing,  
 then

then in another, in *Words*, in *Behaviour*, &c. 1686. (little things in Appearance, but great in Consequence) till at length an Indifferency gets up in the Mind, and the Testimony of Truth by degrees is let fall. But while the pure Fear is kept to, and dwelt in, the Watch is always set, the Spirit is retired and weighty, and an holy Awfulness rests upon the Mind, which renders such Converse both safe to the Friends, and more serviceable to them they converse withal.

And, Friends, not only in your conversing with the World's People, but in all your Conversation and Course of Life, watch against the Spirit of the World, for it lies near to tempt, and to draw out the mind, and to lead back into the World again. You know, Friends, that at the first, when the visiting Arm of the Lord reached to us, he led us out of the World's *Ways, Manners, Customs and Fashions*, and a close Testimony, both in Word and Practice, was born against them. But how hath this Testimony been kept up, and kept to by all, who have since made Profession of the Truth? Ah, how hath the Enemy, *for want of Watchfulness*, stole in upon too too many, and led out their Minds, from that which did at first Convince them, into a Liberty beyond the Cross of Christ Jesus; and in that Liberty they have run into the Worlds Fashions, which the worldly Spirit continually invents to feed the vain and airy Minds withal, that they may not come to Gravity and Solidity?

1686. Thence it hath come to pass, that there is scarce a *New Fashion* come up, or a *Fantastick Cut* invented, but some one or other, that professes Truth, is ready, with the foremost, to run into it. Ah, Friends, the World sees this and smiles, and *points the Finger at it*. And this is both a Hurt to the particular, and a Reproach to the general. Therefore, O let the Lot be cast, let Search be made by every one, and let every one Examine himself, that this *Achan*, with his *Babylonish Garment*, may be found out and cast out: for indeed he is a *Troubler of Israel*. And all Friends, who upon true search shall find your selves concerned in this particular, I warn and exhort you all, Return to that which at first Convinced you; to that keep close, in that abide, that therein ye may know, as at the first (not only a *Bridle to the Tongue*, but) a *Curb to the roving Mind*, a *Restraint to the wandering Desire*. For assuredly, Friends, if Truth be kept to, none will need to learn of the World what to wear, what to put on, or how to shape and fashion their Garments: but Truth will teach all how best to answer the *End of Cloathing*, both for *useful Service* and *modest Decency*. And the Cross of Christ will be a Yoke to the unruly Will, and a Restraint upon the wanton Mind; and will Crucifie that Nature that delights in *Finery* and in *Bravery of Apparel*, in which the true adorning doth not stand, but in the *hidden Man of the Heart*, in that which is not corruptible, even a meek and quiet Spirit, 1. Pet. 3. 4. And the Grace of God, which  
hath

hath appeared to all, and which hath brought 1686. Salvation to many, will not only teach to deny all *Ungodlinesse and worldly Lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present World*, Titus 2. 11, 12. but will also lead those that obey it out of all Excess, and out of all Superfluities and worldly Vanities, and will teach them to order their Conversation aright. Therefore to this heavenly Grace let every Mind be turned, and therein stay'd, that thereby all who profess the Truth may be kept in the holy Limits of it; that in their whole Conversation and Course of Life, in Eating, in Drinking, in putting on Apparel, and in whatsoever else we do, or take in hand, that all may be done to the Glory of God, 1 Cor. 10. 31. that our Moderation in all things may appear unto all Men.

And let not any deceive and hurt themselves with a False Plea, saying, *I will be left to my Liberty; I have freedom to do, go, or wear so and so; And Religion stands not in Cloths, &c.* For that Liberty which the worldly Spirit leads into, is not indeed the true Liberty, but is a false and feigned Liberty, which leads into true and real Bondage. And though Religion stands not simply in Cloths; yet true Religion stands in that which sets a *Bound and Limit* to the *Mind* with respect to Cloths, as well as to other things. So that where there is a running out into *Excess* and *Vanity* in Apparel, that is a certain Indication and Token that the *Mind is got loose*, and hath cast off the Yoke, and is broke away from its due Subjection to that Divine Power, in which, the true Religion stands. Great.

1686. Great hath been the Hurt which the Enemy hath done in this Day, by leading into a *false Freedom*, and crying up a *wrong Liberty*: for under this Pretence have crept in great Disorders, some running out one way, and some another; some mixing in Marriages with the World's People, and some going to the Priest to be married. And many loose and unclean Spirits have shrouded themselves under this plausible Pretence of *being left to their Liberty*, unto whom Truth's Order is irksome and uneasie; and they kick against it, and call it *Imposition*, because it *checks their licentious Liberty*. Therefore all, who join with their Plea, examine and try what Liberty it is ye claim and stand for: for the true Liberty is not inconsistent with the Cross of Christ, nor repugnant to his Yoke; but agrees with it, and is obtained through it, and maintained by it. And none whom the Son hath made free indeed, will, or can plead or make use of that Liberty, in Opposition to any Means, which the God of Order hath appointed, or set up in his Church for the keeping out Confusion, Disorder and Loosness. And hereby all may take a right Measure, and may certainly know *what kind of Liberty* that is, which some have so hotly contended for, in Opposition to that necessary and commendable Order, which God hath led his People into, and which the Enemy, in his Agents, labours so hard to lead them out of. For the Enemy well knows, that the Tendency and Service thereof is to detect and discover his secret workings, and to bring his Deeds to Light

Light and Judgment; and therefore he strives <sup>1686</sup> with might and main to overturn it, crying out through his Instruments, *Away with your Order, Let every one be left to his Liberty.* By which seemingly fair and specious Plea, not only the loose, disorderly, factious Spirits have been let up, and encouraged to greater Boldness and Licentiousness: but some simple and well-meaning Friends also, not seeing the Design of Satan therein, have been misled thereby, and made use of by the Enemy, and the more subtle of his Instruments, to oppose the good order of Truth. Thus hath the Enemy wrought, and sought to lay waste the Work of the Lord. But the Lord (magnified be his holy Name) hath not been wanting to his People, who in sincerity of Heart have diligently waited on him, and trusted in him; for he hath all along raised up some, whose Eye he hath opened to see the Design and working of the Evil One; and whose Spirits he hath engaged to stand up in a faithful Testimony against him, *contending for the way of Truth.* Which when they, in whom the Enemy wrought, perceived, and found they could not run over the Heads of Friends, and carry things on as themselves pleased, they set themselves, *in a heady wilful Spirit*, to raise Disturbances in Meetings for Business, by encouraging and abetting such heady, loose, contentious and disorderly Persons as wou'd join with them; thus hardning themselves, and provoking the Lord to give them up to Blindness and Hardness of Heart, till at length the Enemy prevailed so far upon them,

1686. as to work them by degrees, from *Discontent* to *Prejudice*, then to *Enmity*, and so at length, in divers Places, to an open *Defection*, *Apostacy* and *Separation*.

Now although I know, my dear Friends, that ye who have kept your *Habitation in the Light of the Lord*, and whose *Eye is single* therein, have a clear Sight and Understanding, that the Spirit which hath thus wrought and fought against the Truth, is not, nor can be, of God, but is of the wicked One; and although the Fruits it hath brought forth, through the Agents and Instruments in and by which it hath wrought, viz. *Making Disturbances in Meetings, to the breaking the Churches Peace; Causing Divisions amongst Friends; Publishing to the World most wicked, malicious, railing and scandalous Books, against Friends* (an Effect of the greatest Enmity) *shutting and keeping Friends out of their common Meeting-Houses, in which they have a just Right and Property, and not suffering them to meet therein* (which is a part of the Persecution inflicted on Friends by the World) *and at length also set up separate Meetings, in Opposition to the Meetings of God's People*: Although, I say, these Fruits are sufficient of themselves to discover and manifest, to an unclouded Mind, what Spirit that is, and must needs be, which hath brought them forth; yet inasmuch as some, partly through *Weakness of Judgment*, and partly through *personal Affection to some of those leading Separatists*, are yet in danger to be betrayed by their *fair Words and feigned Speeches, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive*, I feel



feel a Concern remain upon my Spirit, in the 1686. Love of God, to warn all such, that they join not with, nor give Countenance unto that Spirit, that hath thus wrought against the Lord, and against his People.

For Friends, in the holy Fear of the living God, and in the Openings of the Spring of his pure Life in my Soul, at this time, and from the certain Knowledge, and clear Demonstration which I have received from him therein; I testify and declare unto you, That this Spirit, which in this Day hath run out, and hath drawn out some, into Opposition against the Way and Work of the Lord, into Division and Separation from the People of the Lord, and from the holy Assemblies which the Lord hath gathered, and by his powerful Presence hath owned, and daily doth own: This Spirit, I say, is the same with that which hath formerly wrought, in other Appearances, against the Truth in our time; and is the same with that Spirit, that wrought against the Work of the Lord in the Days of the Holy Apostles. This Mystery of Iniquity then wrought, and caused many to turn aside, and to leave the right way of the Lord, and to *forsake the Assemblies of God's People*, Heb. 10. 25. Yea, and to run into *Separation* too, Jude 19. Upon whom the holy Ghost hath set his Brand; that they were *Sensual, having not the Spirit*. And many close and sharp Testimonies did the Lord give forth through his Servants in that Day against this Spirit, and against those that were joined to it, and

1686. and acted by it, as may be seen in the Holy Scriptures.

Yea, Friends, this Spirit that hath led some now to set up their Separate Meetings, is the same that led *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat* to set up his separate Altar at *Bethel*, of which you may read 1 *Kings* 12, and 13 Chapters. He was afraid, that if the People should continue to go up to the House of the Lord, to do Sacrifice there, as they had been accustomed to do, and as the Lord had required, they would then forsake him, and return to the Lord again. And this Spirit now is afraid, that if they whom he hath seduced, and drawn aside, should still frequent the Assemblies of God's People, and continue to meet with Friends as before; that heavenly Power which is eminently manifest in the Meetings of God's People, might at one time or other reach unto them, touch their Hearts, open the right Eye in them, and give them to see the Mischief and misery he is leading them into. And therefore to prevent this, and to keep his Captives close unto him, he hath contrived to set up Separate Meetings, in Opposition to the Meetings of God's Appointment, as *Jeroboam* set up his Separate Altar, in Opposition to the Altar which God hath commanded to be set up; and to keep the People from going thereto. And so subtilly did this Spirit work then, as well as now, that *Jeroboam* contrived to have his false Worship bear some Resemblance to the true; that he might the more easily beguile the People: For he ordained a  
*Feast*

*Feast like unto the Feast that was in Judah, 1686. 1 Kings 12. 32. But it was in the Month which he had devised of his own Heart, ver. 33. Mark that, there is a Blot upon it: How fair or specious soever the Worship he set up appeared, or seemed to be, yet it was but the Devise of his own Heart; it was neither appointed by God, nor accepted of God. For you may read in the 13th Chapter, that the Lord sent a Prophet, a Man of God, out of Judah to Bethel; and he cried against the Altar in the Word of the Lord, and prophesied the Destruction thereof by Jofiah; which was afterwards outwardly fulfilled, as you may read, 2 Kings 23. 15, &c. Now Jofiah signifies, The Fire, or Burning of the Lord. And, in the holy Dread of the living Eternal God, I declare, The Fire of the Lord is kindled, and kindling against this accursed separating Spirit, and against its Work, and against all those that join with it therein. Therefore all Fear before the Mighty God, and stand still and consider your Ways; and let none resist or reject the Warning of the Lord, lest such be hardened to Destruction. For Jeroboam, you may read, stood by his separate Altar, ver. 1. And when he heard the saying of the Man of God, which he cried against the Altar in Bethel, he put forth his Hand, saying, Lay hold on him. But his Hand which he put forth against him, dried up, so that he could not pull it in again to him, ver. 4. O Friends, consider, How hath Driness and Withering come upon many a great and stout One in this Day, who have lifted up themselves against*

1686. gainst the Lord; and have fought, by the *Devices of their own Hearts*, to establish themselves in their own Way, against the Way of the Lord; so that the Hand they have put forth in that Work, they could not pull in again. Now mind, I pray you, Friends, and observe the way of the working of this Spirit in that Day. Here was the Enmity, the rough Nature of *Cain* and *Esau*, the Spirit of *Persecution*, got up first in *Jeroboam*, to dismay the Man of God: *Lay hold of him*, says he. But when he saw that would not do; then the subtle Serpent, the crafty Fox, the fair Speeches, the smooth Words, the seeming Friendship and shew of Kindness to betray him. *Come home with me*, says he to the Man of God, *and refresh thy self, and I will give thee a Reward*, vers. 7. O Friends, stand in the Fear and Counsel of the Lord, and in the Dominion of his Power, over this wicked Spirit in all its Twistings and Twinings. Let neither the Frowns nor the Fawnings, the Threats nor the Flatteries, the hard Speeches nor the Oily Words, the Pharisaical Friendship, the dissembling Love, the seeming Kindness, the familiar Carriage, the free Entertainment, the fine Bit, the Offer of Advantages, &c. have any Influence upon you, to draw you, in the least measure, to join or touch with God's Enemy; with him that sets up a separate Altar, a separate Meeting, in Opposition to, and to draw or keep from the right Way of the Lord: Mind well the Answer, which the Man of God gave to *Jeroboam's* tempting Invitation, *If* (said

(said he) *thou wilt give me half thine House, I 1686. will not go in with thee; neither will I eat Bread, nor drink Water in this Place, ver. 8.* (This was where the Separate Altar was set up.) And he gives a forcible Reason for it: *For so it was charged me by the Word of the Lord, Verf. 9.*

Here now you see both the Charge of the Lord, and the good Resolution of the Man of God: I will not go in with thee, who hast revolted from God; neither will I eat or drink in this Place, where an Ensign of Separation and Opposition to the way of God is set up. Consider this well, I warn you All, in whom there is yet any true Breathings after the living God, who retain any Tenderness, and in whom there is any Simplicity left: Consider this well, I say, when thy pretended Friend, or Friends, in a great deal of seeming Love and Kindness, shall invite thee to partake with them at their Separate Altar, to sit down with them in their Separate Meeting. Thou canst not be a Man of God, and go in with them, or eat or drink in that Place. Thou canst not sit down there, to wait for the Bread of Life, or the Water of Life to be given thee there: No, the Word of the LORD, if thou givest heed unto it, will charge thee otherwise. Therefore to that pure living Word let every Mind be turned, and thereto kept, in a diligent Waiting to receive Wisdom, Strength and Power from the Lord therein; that none may be betrayed by the Subtilty of the the Enemy, with whatsoever fair pretences he may come. For remember  
how

1686. how the Man of God, that was enticed by another to eat and drink outwardly at *Bethel*, the place where the separate Altar was set up, lost his outward Life therefore, ver. 18. and 24. And if thou shalt presume to go in, to eat or to drink spiritually; that is, to join in Worship with the Sons of *Nebat* at this Day, in the separate Meetings, which any of them have set up, in Opposition to the Assemblies of God's People, and to the Blessed Way and Work of the Lord; how knowest thou, but thou mayst for ever lose thy spiritual Life, and never know a Day of Quickning more.

Therefore all Friends, watch against every Temptation thereunto, as you love your Lives, as you regard the Good and Eternal Welfare of your Souls; and let not the Name, nor Person of any Man have Power over you, to draw you aside, neither let **Numbers** sway with you; in which, I know, these Adversaries of Truth do not a little boast (though, blessed be God, with little Reason) But remember that *Jeroboam* of Old had Ten Tribes out of Twelve to cry up his separate Altar; Notwithstanding which, he is branded to Posterity in the Holy Record with this Brand, *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, WHO MADE ISRAEL TO SIN*, 2 Kings 14. 24. Therefore let not any follow a Multitude to do Evil, *Exod. 23. 2.* But all follow that which is Good, both among your selves, and to all Men, 1 *Theff. 5. 15.* For Friends, you know whither the Broad Way leads, and what it is the Wide Gate opens into, which the

MANT

*MANY* go in at : but keep ye to the *Straight* 1686. Gate, and walk ye on in the *NARROW* Way ; for in it is Safety, and at the End of it everlasting Happiness.

But Friends, because of the Straightness of this Gate, and the Narrowness of this Way, some that have attempted to walk in it, are grown weary of it, and have sought out another way, a way which (*Jeroboam* like) they have devised of their own Hearts ; wherein they may have more Room, more Scope, more Company, Ease in the Flesh, Liberty to the Flesh, and all without controul. And this I am satisfied, hath not been the least Motive to the Separation in this Day (as it was the greatest in Days past) tho' some that have been drawn into it, may not perhaps see the Ground upon which it was undertaken. But the Lord hath opened an Eye in many, which sees the Rise and Ground, Entrance and End of this libertine Spirit, and its Work. And this Eye will the Lord daily open more and more in all, that diligently and in Sincerity wait upon Him. Therefore all Friends every where, who have not yet a clear Sight, and a thorow Understanding of the Nature and Work, Design and Drift of this dividing Spirit ; wait, I beseech you, in Simplicity of Heart, and Lowliness of Mind, upon the Lord, and keep to the Measure of the Grace you have received from him ; and suffer not your Minds to be swayed or byassed by any personal Kindness, natural Affection, Relation, Kindred or Acquaintance ; but stand single and open

1686. open to the Lord, not joining to, nor any way  
 countenancing that which the Testimony of  
 Truth, in the Arisings of the heavenly Life,  
 and Breakings forth of the divine Power thro'  
 any, goes forth against. So will your present  
 Standing be safe, and you be preserved out of  
 the Snares of this insinuating and treacherous  
 Spirit: And the Lord in his appointed time, as  
 ye abide with him, will open your Understand-  
 ings further, and give you a clearer Sight of  
 that, which at present you do not fully see; and  
 thereby bring you to that Certainty and Assu-  
 rance, which (blessed be his Name) he hath  
 brought many unto.

And you, my dear Friends, whose Spirits the  
 Lord hath stirred up, and whose Hearts he hath  
 engaged, in an Holy Zeal, to stand up for his  
 Blessed Name and Truth, and to bear a faith-  
 ful Testimony against this wicked rending  
 Spirit; go on in the Strength and Power of the  
 Lord, in the Might of the God of *Jacob*; for  
 you are assuredly on the Lord's Side, and the  
 Lord *Jehovah*, the Strength of *Israel*, is on your  
 Side. Therefore, Friends, be encouraged in  
 the Lord, to stand stedfast in your Testimony,  
 not giving way to the Enemy, no not for a Mo-  
 ment. And take heed, I beseech you in the  
 Love of God, how ye enter into any Treaty  
 of Peace, or Terms of Agreement with this  
 Ungodly Treacherous Spirit, which is out of  
 the Truth, and draws out of the Truth, and  
 Fights against the Truth: For there is no Peace  
 unto it, saith my God. And they who have  
 join-



joined themselves unto it, and have wickedly 1686.  
 given themselves up to be acted by it, and to  
 act for it, must pass through the River of Judg-  
 ment, if ever they be redeemed from under its  
 Power. Friends, Condemnation must first be  
 felt and owned, before Reconciliation can be  
 known; and the Fire of the Lord must pass  
 upon the Transgressor, to consume the Works  
 of Darkness, the ungodly Deeds, the envious  
 reviling Speeches, the wicked malicious slan-  
 derous Books and Pamphlets, &c. and to burn  
 up the Ground from whence they sprang. For  
 a flaming Sword hath the Lord God set in his  
*Eden*, which turneth every Way; and none  
 that are gone out can ever come in again, but  
 they must pass under the flaming Edge thereof.  
 Therefore, my dear Friends, stand your Ground,  
 in the Authority of the heavenly Life, and tam-  
 per not with God's Enemies: Remember the  
 Word of the Lord to the Prophet, *Let them re-  
 turn unto thee, but return not thou unto them,* Jer.  
 15. 19. And then what follows? *I will make thee  
 unto this People a fenced brazen Wall, and they shall  
 fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against  
 thee; for I am with thee, to save thee, and to de-  
 liver thee, saith the Lord,* ver. 20. So the God of  
 Life fill your Hearts daily more and more with  
 a *Phineas Zeal* for the Honour of his Name;  
 and furnish you abundantly with Wisdom and  
 Counsel, with Boldness and Courage, with  
 Strength and Power, to encounter and over-  
 come the Enemy: And make every one more  
 watchful against the Spirit of the World, to  
 B b with-

1686. withstand it in all its Allurements to Vanity, of  
 W whatsoever kind; that whatsoever would de-  
 file the Camp of the Lord, may be purged out,  
 and kept out, that the Lord may more and  
 more delight in his People; and shower down  
 his Blessings upon them; which is the fervent  
 desire of,

*Your faithful Friend in the Love and  
 Service of the unchangeable Truth,*

*The 24th of the 2d  
 Month, 1686.*

**Thomas Ellwood.**

1688. After this, I do not find he writ any thing  
 (only some private Letters in his *Decades*) but  
 lived Retired till the Year 1688. In wick time  
 of Privacy (as fittest for it) he began a Work  
 which he did not finish till many Years after;  
 and that was *The Life of David King of Israel*,  
 in Verse; which he began for his own Diversion,  
 not thinking then of Printing it, and carried it  
 on to the End of the Third Book. But then  
 the *Prince of Orange* Landing, and the Revolu-  
 tion following, the Nation being in Arms a-  
 gainst King *James*; the Noise of Guns, and  
 Sound of Drums, &c. so desturbed his Medita-  
 tion, and gentle Muse (which like the *Halcion*,  
 breeds in Calm Weather) that his Poetical Ge-  
 nius left him for a time, and he thereupon left  
 his Work, for above Twenty Years; of which  
 more hereafter in its Place.

And here he retired again for two Years; so  
 that I find nothing to Remark of him, either  
 publick or private, but some private Letters,  
 till

till the Year, 1690. When John Raunce and 1690.  
*Charles Harris of Wiccomb*, in that County, publishing *A Memorial* (as they call'd it) for the present Generation; and also for that which is to come: Being an Account from Wiccomb, concerning the Difference, &c. This Thomas Ellwood answered in a Book intituled, *The Account from Wiccomb* (lately published by John Raunce and Charles Harris) examined, and found false. And a Warning thereof given, to all such well-meaning Persons among the People called Quakers, as through Personal Affection, want of Consideration, or Weakness of Judgment, have been betrayed, or may be in danger to be betrayed by them, or any other in the same dividing Spirit with them; and led aside from the Way of Truth, into a Separation from the People of God: For whose Recovery and Preservation this is written. Which begins thus.

‘ For your sakes it is, O ye much pittied  
 ‘ Ones; more than for any weight in the Account it self, or worth in the Authors of it,  
 ‘ that I have thus taken notice of it. For indeed, as soon as I had perused it, I felt a compassionate Concern spring in my Heart on  
 ‘ your behalfs, and a direction in Spirit to open some Passages therein, and relating thereto,  
 ‘ to you, that ye might be preserved from being taken: Or, if in any measure taken, might  
 ‘ be rescued and delivered from the Snare, which the Enemy of your Souls, and of all  
 ‘ Righteousness, hath made use of these Men  
 ‘ to set, to entangle, entrap and catch you by.  
 ‘ And to the true Witness of the Holy God, in  
 B b 2 ‘ every

1690. ' every one of your Consciences, who retain  
 ' any honest Breathings after the Lord, and  
 ' the Way of Holiness, do I recommend this  
 ' my Undertaking, and the Sincerity of my  
 ' Intention herein. Wherein he discovered their  
 Deceit, as to their Separation; and that it was  
 not for Conscience, but from a libertine Spirit,  
 to lay waste the good Order in the Church, as  
 their Actions manifested: Of which he gave  
 some Instances, not to their Advantage. But  
 their Works have made them manifest.

1691. The next Book he published, was in 1691.  
 viz. *A Reply to an Answer lately published, to a  
 Book long since written by W. Penn: Intituled, A  
 brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual;  
 both with respect to Persons in their private Capa-  
 city, and in their Church Society and Conversation.*  
 Which Book was written, or at least published  
 by *W. Penn*, in the Year 1681. To distinguish  
 between true and false Liberty, little under-  
 stood by some, and too frequently abused by o-  
 thers: Liberty from Sin, not to Sin, to do his  
 (God's) Will, and not our own; as *W. P.* ex-  
 presses it. Which true spiritual Liberty, being  
 abused by some in the Profession of the Truth  
 (as our Friend *T. E.* observes in his Preface)  
 ' Who under pretence of being left to that Li-  
 ' berty in themselves, and to their own Free-  
 ' dom therein; both took Liberty to do such  
 ' things as were inconsistent with that true Li-  
 ' berty, and with the Principle of Truth which  
 ' they professed; and despising those useful,  
 ' good and necessary Helps and Means which  
 ' the

' the Lord hath provided, and furnished his 1691.  
 ' Church and People with, for the preventing  
 ' and keeping out such Disorders, Evils and  
 ' Scandals, as the unruly Nature of Man, thro'  
 ' such a Mistake of true Liberty, might and  
 ' would bring in: Did reject the Counsel, Ad-  
 ' monition or Reproof of their Brethren, with  
 ' *What hast thou to do with me? Leave me to my*  
 ' *own Freedom.* To reclaim (if it might be)  
 ' those who are thus deceived, and prevent o-  
 ' thers from being so: the Author being pressed  
 ' in Spirit for Zion's sake, and for the Peace of  
 ' *Jerusalem*; and having a deep Sense (as him-  
 ' self expresses) of the working of the Enemy  
 ' of Zion's Peace, to rend and divide the Heri-  
 ' tage of God, did write the forementioned  
 ' Treatise, for the Establishment of the Faith-  
 ' ful, Information of the Simple-hearted, and  
 ' Reproof of the Arrogant and High-minded.  
 Which striking at the false Liberty and Pre-  
 tences of the Separate Party; it seems it had  
 lain on their Stomachs undigested these Ten  
 Years, and then came forth an Answer to it by  
 J. H. (supposed to be *John Hog*, one of the Se-  
 parates about *Hull*.) This Answer our Friend  
 T. Ellwood undertakes, and replies to, in a pretty  
 large Book; in which he shews what is meant  
 by true spiritual Liberty, in W. P's own Defi-  
 nition, which he defends; shews their Abuse  
 of it, answers their Arguments, or rather Ca-  
 vils against it, in behalf of their false libertine  
 Spirit and Practices, which too many ran into,  
 to their own Hurt, and Separation from the  
 B b 3 Church,

1691. Church, the Body of Christ, whereof He is  
 ~ Head: saying, in the *Preface*, ‘ The God of  
 ‘ Truth knows, I have no other End in this  
 ‘ Reply, than to defend Truth, and the Chil-  
 ‘ dren of it, against the slanderous Suggestions,  
 ‘ false Charges, and wicked Insinuation of the  
 ‘ Adversaries; to lay open their deceitful Deal-  
 ‘ ing, and to remove (as the Lord shall enable  
 ‘ me) the stumbling Blocks, which they have  
 ‘ laid in the Way of the Weak, whereby they  
 ‘ have caused some to fall into Misapprehensions  
 ‘ and hard Thoughts of Friends, without Cause.  
 ‘ And I beseech the God of Mercy to open the  
 ‘ Understandings, and clear the Sight of all  
 ‘ those, whose Simplicity has been betrayed by  
 ‘ the others Subtilty, that they may see and e-  
 ‘ scape the Enemies Snares, and return to the  
 ‘ true Fold, from which they have been led a-  
 ‘ stray. To which I never heard of any Re-  
 joinder; only some private Letters past between  
 J. H. and T. E. about some Passages in it.

His next were two Broadfides; the first (in  
 1692. viz. T. E’s *Answer to so much of* Leonard  
 Key’s *late Printed Sheet as relates to him*.  
 Which Paper of L. K’s was intended mostly to  
 excuse their shutting Friends out of their Meet-  
 ing-House at *Reading*. But therein taking Oc-  
 casion to flant at some Passages in T. E’s *Answer*  
 to the Account from *Wiccomb*; gave our Friend  
 Thomas an Occasion, not only to open that Mat-  
 ter further; but also to lay open their Deceit in  
 Relation to that Affair, as well as L. K’s, and  
 his Party at *Reading*. To which I refer the  
 Reader. The

The Second was (in 1693.) viz. *Deceit* 1693. discovered, and Malice manifested, in L. Key's late Paper from Reading. Thomas being then at London, at the Yearly-Meeting, met with B. Coal's *Expedients, for a true Reconciliation among the People of God called Quakers: Which L. K.* it seems promoted. But when T. E. came home, he found a Letter at his House directed to him, from L. K. with a Printed Sheet inclosed, so different in Terms and Tendency from the other, sign'd by B. C. and C. H. (that proposing Expedients for Peace, this renewing the Difference;) and yet but one Day different in the Dates (this being dated the 3d, the other the 4th of the 4th Month, 1693.) that he could not but admire at it; which therefore he compares, and shews the Difference of, and discovers their Deceit in; and not only in that, but also in Relation to the Difference at *Wiccomb*, which they were not yet easie under, and yet would not confes the Truth; but instead thereof *J. Raunce* endeavours to fix a Slander on T. Ellwood about his Father's Burial, pretending he was not Buried in the right Ground, but among Strangers; he and his Party Riding Twenty Miles, or more, about the Country; and *J. R.* going himself to the place where he was Buried at *Holton*, to pick up a Stone at the Father's Grave, to throw at the Son, above seven Years after his Death; enquiring, examining, yea, provoking some to pretend as if T. E. had been unkind to his Father, and that they had shewed

1693. him Kindness, to bring *Thomas* under Obligation of Requitall, or upbraid him for Ingratitude if he did not. In all which *J. R's* Malice was manifest more than any thing else; for as to the Ground he was buried in, *T. E.* confesses, he was not so well acquainted with the Grave-Yard, as to know the Difference of Places in it or whether some Parts of it be more Holy than others; which he thinks, considering their former Principles, they should not have quarrel'd with him about. However the Place was not of his appointing; for he was prevented of being at the Burial, by a Message his Father received in his Sicknes, that his Sister (but which of them he doth not say) lay then Sick in *London*, near unto Death. After he had waited on his Father until he had finished his Life, and given Direction for his Interrment, he hastened up to his Sister at *London*, thinking he might be more serviceable to the Living than to the Dead, and knew not in what Part of the Ground his Father was buried, till after his Return from *London*, he went thither to defray the Charges of his Sicknes and Funeral, as some of them knew: and therefore the more shame to raise such a Story. And as to the other of Unkindness, they could prove nothing, but shew their Envy against him; which we shall have Occasion to take further notice of, e're we have done.

The next and last Book he writ in Relation to this Controversie with the Separates, was, *A fair Examination of a foul Paper, called, Observations and Reflections, &c. lately published by John Raunce*



Raunce and Leonard Key; who after their separate Bickerings, come now to join their Forces together in this Paper, which seems to be Reflections on T. E's last mentioned Paper; and which Paper of theirs our Friend answers in this Examination, wherein *their Envy is rebuked, and their Folly and Falshood laid open*, in endeavouring to excuse L. K's former Paper of Revival of the Difference, at the same time when 'B. C's Expedient for Reconciliation was for having it all forgotten and buried: which T. E. exposes in its proper Colours, beginning thus, ' We read ' among the *Proverbs* of Solomon, that *the Way of the Wicked is as Darkness, they know not at what they Stumble*, Prov. 4. 19. This is verified in J. Raunce and L. Key, and others of their separate Party. Since their turning against the Truth, their way is become as Darkness; they stumble and know not at what. They fall into many idle Absurdities, many gross Follies and Errors, and into many hurtful Evils, and labour to draw others (better than themselves) after them: for whose sake chiefly the following Lines are written, that the Deceit and Hypocrisie of these Men, their Falshood and Envy being further and further laid open, the more Simple and Well-meaning Ones amongst them, may see them as they are, and be no longer beguiled by them. So he goes on to Answer their Cavils, confirming by Certificate his former Charge of their scandalous Practice at *Wiccomb*; then answers their new Slander (the old proving false) *That he suffered*


1692 *ferred his Father to want*; raking into his Ashes when he had been dead above Ten Years, to cast something at his Son (so restless is Envy) as if he had been short in his Duty to his Father: which *T. E.* fairly and clearly wipes off, vindicating himself as to his not being at his Father's Burial (which *J. R.* throws at him) though *Thomas* in his last had fairly related the Occasion; which was his Sister's Illness at *London* (though she recovered;) and which one would think might have satisfied any one, not overgrown with Envy; which yet *J. R.* revives again: and also about his Burial, &c. All which appears to be nothing but *J. R.*'s Rancor: which seeing he has made so much a-do about, out of his Inveterate Malice to *T. E.* under pretence of Friendship to his Father, but to be sure Hatred to the Son; and as *T. E.* says, *If this be the Effect of his Friendship, he should not desire to be numbred among his Friends.* To set which in a clear Light, I shall here set down his Vindication in his own Words, because it bears some Analogy to his Relation of the former part of his Life; viz. Pag. 20. of the *Fair Examination.* 'Tis well known to many, that my Father was possesst of a good Estate; and they that knew him well, knew also that he had the spending of it himself. How he spent it becomes not me to speak; he was my Father, to whom I ow'd and always paid Respect and Honour, while living; and whose Frailty, being dead, I desire to cover. It is enough for me to say, I did not help him spend his Estate, nor was I much

‘ I much chargeable to him, after I was capa- 1692.  
‘ ble of shifting for my self. And when it pleas- W  
‘ ed the Lord to visit me with the saving Know-  
‘ ledge of his Truth, and bring me under the  
‘ visible Characters of the Profession thereof  
‘ (which was about the 20th Year of my Age)  
‘ my Father expressing a dislike to me on that  
‘ Account; by degrees withdrew his Care of  
‘ me, not making any Provision for my Main-  
‘ tenance, save the giving me such of his Houf-  
‘ hold Goods as he could spare, upon his giving  
‘ over House-Keeping; though he had then a  
‘ plentiful Estate remaining. When after-  
‘ wards he Sold his Estate, I had no part at all  
‘ of the Money.—[Though upon his Marriage  
he promised both him and his intended Wife to  
do something considerable for them, yet after  
they were Married he refused to give them any  
thing (as aforesaid, p. 272.) and so far with-  
drew himself, that he would not let him know  
where he lodged.—] ‘ Notwithstanding this  
‘ (says T. E.) he would sometimes come to my  
‘ House, which was always open and free to  
‘ him, to come when he pleased, and to tarry  
‘ as long as he pleased; whenever he came he  
‘ was well Habitted, both for Linnen and  
‘ Woolen, and made no Appearance of Want,  
‘ other than such as may befall any Man, to  
‘ have his Money fall short in a Journey: upon  
‘ which Occasion (when he had, as he said,  
‘ been longer from home than he expected, or  
‘ when, being here, he had a mind to go fur-  
‘ ther, than at his coming forth he intended) he  
‘ has

1693. has divers times asked me to lend him Money, which I always did, and never asked him for it again. And, to the best of my Remembrance, it was not above two Weeks time before his last Sickness, that he had been at my House, and had Money of me on that Account. As soon as I heard of his Illness, I hastened to him; and took the best Care of him I could, during his Life; and after his Death defrayed the Charge of his Sickness and Burial, and repaid to my Sister that Money she had sent him, before I knew of his Illness. I could say more on this Subject than I intend, or at present think fit; But I forbear, and commit my Innocent Cause to the Lord, not doubting but that, as I am clear in his Sight from any Undutifulness, or Unkindness towards my Father, so he will clear mine Innocency in the Hearts of his People, and of all unprejudiced Persons.

This I hope will satisfy the Reader of *T. E.*'s Carriage towards his Father, which we are beholding to *J. R.* for, or else perhaps might never have had this Account, which one would think Envy it self should not be able to cavil at: yet after this *J. R.* being restless, trumpet up another Story, answered by *T. E.* in his Postscript to that Book; which we shall meet with again hereafter, on another Occasion; and therefore I shall say no more of it here.

Here ends his Controversie with the *Separates*: In which I must needs say, he acquitted himself

as an Ingenuous Man; a Christian, and a fair 1693.  
Opponent. And now to come to something   
more pleasant. Our dear Friend G. Fox dying  
in the *Eleventh Month*; 1690. and leaving be-  
hind him an excellent Journal of his Travels  
and Sufferings, our Friend T. E. (as no body fit-  
ter) about this time was at the Pains of Tran-  
scribing it, and fitting it for the Press. (A Labo-  
rious Work.) Which was Printed next Year in  
a large Folio: To which T. E. prefixed a nota-  
ble Account concerning him; which is the only  
single Testimony Printed with it; except his  
Wifes M. F's, and an Excellent Preface by W. Penn.

But now a new Scene opens: for *George Keith*, 1694.  
who had known better things than most Oppo-  
sers that ever rose up against Truth and *Friends*,  
having been a *Quaker*, and a *Preacher* among  
them, near *Thirty Years*, and had writ many  
Books in *Vindication of Truth and Friends*: but  
now falling out, and differing with some of his  
Brethren in *Pennsylvania* (whither he went some  
Years before) because he could not have his own  
way in every thing, came over with some of his  
Party, full fraught with Contention, against the  
*Yearly-Meeting*, 1694. Which difference coming  
before the Meeting, by some Letters from be-  
yond Sea, which were read in Course in the  
Meeting: whereupon G. K. desired to be heard;  
which, after the other Business of the Meeting  
was over, Friends condescended to for several  
Days, to hear him and his Party; and S. *Jen-  
nings*, &c. on the other Side; in hopes to have  
reconciled the Difference before it went any fur-  
ther:

1694. ther: But as the Prophet (*Hof. 7. 1.*) said, *When I would have healed Israel, then the Iniquity of Ephraim was discover'd, &c.* which may be applyed to him: for the more Endeavours were used to reconeile him to his Brethren, the more his Deceit appear'd; and the more Tenderneſs any ſhewed towards him, the more perverſe he was in turning it to a wrong Uſe, and ſtrengthening himſelf in his Oppoſition. There was no holding what would away (as the Proverb is) Reſolved he was for a Breach: by oppoſing Friends more and more, till he ran himſelf quite out from among them. Which our Friend T. E. obſerving the bent and tendency of; not only in the *Tearly-Meeting*, but after: and how he endeavoured to make Diviſions among Friends, to divide the Heritage of God. He took up his Pen again, and writ an Excellent *Epistle to Friends: briefly Commemorating the gracious Dealings of the Lord with them; and warning them to beware of that Spirit of Contention and Diviſion, which hath appeared of late in George Keith, &c.* which he Addreſſes to Friends thus.

‘ Dear Friends, whom the Lord hath called  
 ‘ with an Holy Calling; and who, through  
 ‘ Faithfulneſs to the heavenly Call, are become  
 ‘ the Chosen of the Lord. It is in my Heart,  
 ‘ in the Openings of the Love of God, to ſend  
 ‘ theſe few Lines amongſt you, as a Salutation  
 ‘ of true and hearty Love unto you; and in the  
 ‘ tendering Senſe of the Lord’s Unſpeakable  
 ‘ Goodneſs unto us: which at this time reſts,  
 ‘ with an affecting Weight, upon my Spirit,  
 ‘ briefly

‘ briefly to Commemorate the Gracious Deal- 1694.  
‘ ings of the Lord with us, since we have been  
‘ a People. Which he Commemorates as follows.

‘ Great and manifold have been the Mercies  
‘ of our God, unto his People, in this his Day,  
‘ and his Loving Kindnesses are beyond expres-  
‘ sing: when we were young and little his fa-  
‘ therly Care was over us, he preserved us, and  
‘ nourished us, and caused us to grow up before  
‘ him. How did he carry his Lambs in his Bo-  
‘ som, when the Beasts of Prey roar’d on every  
‘ side, seeking to devour! Who can rehearse the  
‘ many Deliverances he hath wrought for his  
‘ People, in their Passage from Spiritual *Egypt*!  
‘ How hath he girded their Loins with Strength,  
‘ and covered their Heads in the Day of Battle!  
‘ How hath he subdued their Enemies before  
‘ them, and put to flight the Armies of Aliens!  
‘ How hath he fed them with Bread from Hea-  
‘ ven, and made them to suck Honey out of the  
‘ Rock! Yea, he hath caused the Rock to give  
‘ forth Water abundantly, and hath been to his  
‘ People as a Brook in the way [and *the Shadow of*  
‘ *a mighty Rock in a weary Land.*] So that from a  
‘ sensible Experience we can say, to his Praise,  
‘ Our Bread hath been sure, and our Water  
‘ hath not failed, as we have singly relied on  
‘ him. Oh! his Goodness is unutterable, and  
‘ his Faithfulness hath never failed them that  
‘ have trusted in him: when have we ever been  
‘ in Prison for his sake, and he hath not visited  
‘ and comforted us there? What Sufferings  
‘ have any undergone on his Account, and he  
‘ hath

1694. ' hath not abundantly recompenced the Loss?

W ' Nay, hath he not often stopped the Mouths of  
 ' Lions, and reprov'd Rulers for the sake of his  
 ' People; saying, *Touch not mine Anointed, and*  
 ' *do my Prophets no harm.* In all our Exercises he  
 ' hath been with us, and he hath stood by us in  
 ' our forest Trials; yea, he hath caused his An-  
 ' gel to encamp round about us, so that no Wea-  
 ' pon formed against us hath prospered; but e-  
 ' very Tongue that hath risen up against us, the  
 ' Lord hath given us Power to condemn: blef-  
 ' sed be his holy Name, and exalted and mag-  
 ' nified be his Glorious Power for ever.

' These things and much more than I can  
 ' write, I doubt not but ye, my dear Friends,  
 ' are Witnesses of; ye especially, my elder Bre-  
 ' thren, who were called early in the Morning  
 ' of this Day, and have stood faithful in your Te-  
 ' stimony for God until now, who from your own  
 ' both early and late Experiences can set your  
 ' Seals to the Truth hereof; and unto you I do  
 ' believe this brief Commemoration of the  
 ' Goodness and Loving-Kindness of the Lord to  
 ' his People, will be pleasing and delightful, as  
 ' I hope it may prove useful and profitable unto  
 ' us all, in the stirring up of the *Pure Mind*,  
 ' and putting us in fresh Remembrance of the  
 ' Lord's manifold Favours towards us, and gra-  
 ' cious Dealings with us; which should be as  
 ' a renewed Engagement upon us to cleave fast  
 ' unto the Lord, and in Humility of Heart, to  
 ' walk closely with him, both that we may, as  
 ' far as in us lies, answer his great loving-Kind-  
 ' ness



' nefs to us-ward, and receive from him still 1694.  
 ' daily Strength and Ability to stand, and with-  
 ' stand the Assaults and Temptations of the E-  
 ' nemy, and escape his Snares, wherewith he is;  
 ' at this time, as busie and Industrious to be-  
 ' tray, and draw aside from the Simplicity of  
 ' the Truth, as ever he was.

' For Friends, ye know we have a restless  
 ' Adversary to watch against, and to war with;  
 ' one that sometimes walks about, as a *Roaring*  
 ' *Lion*, seeking whom he may devour; and  
 ' sometimes creeps about, as a *subtil Serpent*,  
 ' seeking whom he may betray; whom, in each  
 ' Appearance, it is our Duty and Interest to re-  
 ' sist, stedfast in the Faith which overcomes. I  
 ' need not recount unto you, my Friends, the  
 ' many Winds and Floods, Storms and Tem-  
 ' pests, of open and cruel *Persecutions*, which  
 ' this roaring Adversary hath often raised, and  
 ' and caused to beat upon us, to have driven us  
 ' (if possible) from off our Foundation; ye can-  
 ' not have forgotten it, nor that noble *Arm of the*  
 ' *Lord*, which was made bare for our Preserva-  
 ' tion, and by preserving us against the most fu-  
 ' rious Shocks, gave Evidence even to the  
 ' World, that we are that People whose House  
 ' is founded and built upon the immoveable  
 ' Rock *Christ Jesus*. At this sort of Fighting  
 ' the Enemy hath been foiled; which hath  
 ' made him shift his Hand, and like a cunning  
 ' Hunter *spread his Nets*, set his Snares, lay his  
 ' Baits, to catch the simple and unwary Ones.  
 ' Thus wrought this subtil Enemy in the ear-

1694. ly times of Christianity, sometimes stirring  
 up the Rulers, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to fall,  
 with violent and bloody Hands, upon the lit-  
 tle Flock of Christ; and sometimes in the In-  
 termiſſions of thoſe Storms, covering his  
 Hooks with the taking Baits of *Pleasure*, *Pro-  
 fit* and *Preferment*, catch ſome (perhaps of  
 thoſe that had withſtood the ſtrongeſt Storm  
 of outward Perſecution) and made them In-  
 ſtruments for himſelf to work by, to betray  
 others. Such was *Diotrephes* of old, whoſe a-  
 ſpiring Mind, loving and ſeeking *Praeminence*,  
 laboured to make a *Schiſm* in the Church, pra-  
 ting againſt even the Elders thereof *with mali-  
 cious Words*, &c. 3. John 9. 10. What Miſ-  
 chief the wicked One hath wrought in our  
 Day, by ſuch *ambitious Spirits*, I need not re-  
 count; nor is it pleaſing to me to remember,  
 ye know it, to your Grief, as well as I. But  
 this in all ſuch Caſes is obſervable, that ſuch as  
 have made *Diſturbances* in the Church, and  
 have run into *Diviſions* and *Separations* from  
 Friends, have framed to themſelves ſome ſpe-  
 cious Pretence or other, as the Inducement to  
 their Undertaking, which they have Induſtri-  
 ouſly ſpread abroad, and varniſhed over with  
 the faireſt Colours they could, to allure and  
 draw others to join with them, &c.

This, with much more to the ſame purpoſe,  
 which might be cited, I thought meet to men-  
 tion, of the Mercies of the Lord to his People,  
 and Preſervation of them from the Beginning,  
 well worth the Reading. Then recounting the  
 Wiles

Wiles and Workings of the Enemy, in drawing <sup>1694.</sup> some aside from the Simplicity of the Truth, and stirring them up to make Divisions (on one Pretence or other) to disturb the Peace of the Church, and hinder the Work of the Lord in the Earth; as lately in the Separates: so now being disappointed in that, he hath formed a new Design in *G. Keith*; yet to shew the difference between the former and this (and consequently the Confusion of their Pretences) *Theirs* relating to *Discipline*, *This* to *Doctrine*; *They* alleged *That Friends were gone too much from the Inward to the Outward*, *This* *That Friends were gone too much from the Outward to the Inward*, &c. (for our Adversaries seldom agree in their Charges.) And so he goes on to examine and compare his Books (published beyond Sea, with those he writ here) as to the Ground of the Difference and Separation, which he lays at his Door, manifesting his deceitful Pretences, Falacies and Self-Contradictions. Answering his Cavils, and confuting his Calumnies; that none might be deceived by him. Concluding by way of Application and Warning to Friends, to beware of the Enemies Wiles: which I doubt not had a good Effect as to many, in preserving them out of the Enemies Snare, who were in danger of being stagger'd by him.

When our Friend *T. Ellwood* had written this Epistle he went up to *London* with it, and presented it to the *Second-Days Morning-Meeting*, where such Books and Writings of Friends, as are intended for the Press, use to be read and


1694. consider'd; and read it through in that Meeting, and not one Friend (though the Meeting was pretty full) shewed any Dis-unity therewith; but approved it, and left it to him to publish it. And yet G. Keith pretended that it was Printed in great Dis-unity, and against the mind of many Friends, as though it was only approved and promoted by a Party, &c. Which I mention, to shew that he stuck at nothing to make good his Part.

Against this Book of T. E's, G. K. made a heavy Complaint to Friends to have it called in, as very injurious to him (to his Cause to be sure) Poor Man! who had writ so many Books against Friends, after he had writ so many for them, and would not take Friends Advice himself; and how then could he expect they should answer him? So that his Complaint and Clamour not prevailing to stifle it, he takes another way, first putting out a Sheet against it, called a *Loving Epistle*, but envious enough: In which he charged T. E. with *Fifty Perversions*, &c. which he said he had noted in his Book; but left his Proofs behind to come after (*The first by Post*, as the Proverb is, *the second by Tom Long the Carrier*) in another Book which he threatened to Publish, if T. E's was not called in and disowned: which not prevailing neither, some Weeks after he sent forth his threatned Book, miscalled *A Seasonable Information*, &c. but very unseasonable for himself, as to his Reconciliation with Friends; which he pretended he had rather lay down his natural Life (or have his  
Right

Right Hand cut off) than be dis-united (or dis-1694.  
jointed) from them. This Book he pretended  
to be an Answer to T. E's Epistle, and to contain  
his Proofs (such as they were) of the Charge  
he had published before. To both these our  
Friend T. Ellwood replied this Year (1694.) In  
a Book intituled *A further Discovery of that Spi-  
rit of Contention and Division, which hath appear-  
ed of late in George Keith, &c. wherein his Ca-  
rvils are Answered, his Falshood is laid open, and  
the Guilt and Blame of the Breach and Separation  
in America, &c. are fixed faster on him: written  
by way of Epistle (as the former was) and recom-  
mended as a farther Warning to Friends.* Which  
begins thus:

' Dear Friends, who have received the Truth  
' in the Love of it, and have kept your Habi-  
' tation therein, unto whom the Truth is ex-  
' ceeding precious, and who desire the Prospe-  
' rity thereof above all things; unto you is the  
' Salutation of my endeared Love, in this blef-  
' sed Truth, in which the Fellowship of the  
' Faithful stands. In this it is I desire to know  
' you, to be known by you, and to have Fellow-  
' ship with you; earnestly breathing to the  
' God of Truth, the Father of Spirits, that he  
' would be pleased to pour forth more abundant-  
' ly of his Good Spirit into all our Hearts, and  
' fill us with the blessed Fruits thereof, that  
' there may be no room for the Enemy to enter,  
' to break this Holy Fellowship: But that all,  
' who profess to believe in the Light, may so  
' walk therein, that a clear Sight they may  
Cc 3 ' have

1694. ' have thereby, and a true Discerning between  
 ' things that differ, and may be able to make a  
 ' right Judgment what is of God, and what is  
 ' not; that so the design of that Spirit (by  
 ' whatsoever Instrument it works) which would  
 ' break or disturb the Churches Peace, and cast  
 ' Reproach upon the Heritage of God, may be so  
 ' discovered and laid open, that all may see and  
 ' shun it. As this is the Exercise and Travel of  
 ' my Spirit; so it is the Service I have been of  
 ' late, and am at present engaged in. For  
 ' Friends, 'tis not many Months since I saluted  
 ' you with an Epistle, wherein my Spirit was  
 ' drawn forth *briefly to Commemorate the gracious*  
 ' *Dealings of the Lord with his People*; and, as in  
 ' a general way, to remind you of the many  
 ' Attempts the Enemy hath made, by Force  
 ' and Fraud, to hinder the Work of God from  
 ' going on: so more particularly to warn you *to*  
 ' *beware of that Spirit of Contention and Division,*  
 ' *which hath appeared of late in George Keith, and*  
 ' *some few others that join with him, who have made*  
 ' *a Separation from Friends in some parts of Ame-*  
 ' *rica.* In writing that Epistle I did not consult  
 ' Flesh and Blood, neither had I an Eye to my  
 ' own Ease and Quit, as outwardly (for I had  
 ' no Reason to expect Rest from so restless a  
 ' Man, nor fair Treatment from One, who in  
 ' his late Writings and Personal Debates hath so  
 ' notoriously let loose his Pen and Tongue, to  
 ' an *unbridled Liberty* of Railing and Reviling)  
 ' But I clear'd my Conscience, in discharging  
 ' my Duty to God, and to his Church, and  
 ' therein

‘ therein have that Peace, which all his Abuses <sup>1694.</sup>  
 ‘ cannot disturb. 

And so he proceeds to clear himself of the Perversions, &c. which G. K. charged him with, and answers all his Cavils against his Book; manifesting his Deceit, Evasions and Sophistry so effectually, that I do not find that G. Keith ever replied to it, being answered home, and having his Belly full; I suppose of the Controversie with T. Ellwood; for though our Friend Thomas answered several other of G. Keith's Books afterwards (of which hereafter) he never replied to any of them: which shews he had enough of it.

At the end of this Book of G. Keith's, J. Raunce came forth again, with a new Slander against T. E. (all his old ones being baffled) as if his Father had not been buried decently; which how, ever False. G. K's mean Mind, it seems, could not resist J. R's slight Offer, to take off an Hundred of his Books; but rather glad of any Help to run down his Opponent, if he could with Slander, which he found he could not do with Arguments: but had G. K. been a Man of any Worthiness (says T. E.) or his Cause defensible, he would not (though an Adversary) have suffer'd J. R. to have clapt on his Abusive Piece at the end of his Book, to throw Dirt at his Opponent. And had J. R. been a manly Adversary, he would have scorn'd to have crept in at the Tail of another's Book, to renew his Slander, no way relating to the Subject of the Book, when T. E's Fair Examination had lain a Twelve-Month at his Door unanswered. But to creep behind such

1694. a mickle Man as G. K. was taken to be, J. R. perhaps might count it no Disgrace, to repeat his Slander; which T. E. had answered in his Postscript to the *fair Examination*: and for a final Stroke to it, he produces Certificates from those who were concerned about his Father at the time of his Death and Interrment, that he was decently Buried as usual; which may be seen at the End of this Book, in Reply to G. K. And there's an End of all those Lying Stories raised concerning the Dead, to asperse the Living, to the Shame and Confusion of all the Inventors and Fomentors of them, the Man was dead, and in his Grave, and there should have rested without Envy or Detraction; and I am only sorry he seemed to retain his Aversion to his Son for the Truth's sake, which he received in his early Days. To the Honour of which I attribute it, that he was preserved, and carried through and over all Opposition, and lived in Reputation and Renown to his Dying Day.

His next Book is in 1695, intituled *Truth defended, and the Friends thereof cleared from the false Charges, foul Reproaches, and envious Cavils cast upon it and them, by George Keith (an Apostate from them) in two Books by him lately published; one called A true Copy of a Paper delivered into the Yearly-Meeting, &c. The other, The Pretended Yearly-Meeting's nameless Bull of Excommunication, &c.* In which last G. K. gives an Account of his Coming to the *Yearly-Meeting* (1695.) and of his Entertainment in it (when admitted) as if he had never been there before,



before, viz. That he was allowed to sit at the 1695. Great Square Table among the Ministers and Commissioners (as he calls them) that could hold about it, either fully, or near double, to the Number of Twenty four: whether by Allusion to the Twenty four Seats and Elders, mentioned Rev. 4? but doubling the Number he doth not determin; adding, I think it suits not their Crying out so much as they were wont against chief Seats in the Synagogues, to erect such a stately Fabrick in their Meeting-House, at that time, little differing from the manner of a Throne, but that it is low upon the Floor, covered with Green Cloth. All which only serves to shew his own Pageantry, and which our Friend T. Ellwood corrects him for according to his deserts. For the Table will hold few more than Twenty four, or Twenty eight at most, and only necessary to lay Books and Papers on to Write.

In the Beginning of this Book, our Friend T. E. resumes the Controversie from the Beginning, shews the Rise of the Difference, and Proceedings thereupon, in relation to George Keith, particularly after his coming into England in the beginning of 1694; and how he came to be disowned by the Yearly Meeting in 1695, for his rejecting the Advice of the former, and opposite Carriage thereunto; which being so excellent to the matter in hand, and setting the Controversie in a clear light, I shall here insert it; which begins thus:

‘ It is an old Observation, That none prove  
 ‘ more angry and implacable Enemies to any  
 ‘ Society of People, than those that, for their  
 ‘ Disor-

1695. Disorders and unruly Behaviour, have been  
 W disowned by the Society they once were of; a  
 certain vindictive Enmity usually getting up  
 in such, and stirring them up to load that So-  
 ciety, by which they were denied, with all  
 the Reproach and Infamy they can, thereby  
 both gratifying a revengeful Spirit in them-  
 selves, and thinking also, by recriminating o-  
 thers, to extenuate at least their own Crimes.  
 That thus it was in the early Times of Chri-  
 stianity, may be gathered from the Writings  
 of the Apostles, particularly 2 Tim. 4. 14.  
 2 Pet. 2. 1 John 2. 18, &c. 3 John 9, &c.  
 Jude vers. 4. Among those in this Age, whom  
 Satan hath drawn to this degree of Malice  
 and Madnes, *George Keith a Scotchman*, is the  
 latest, but not the least; whether with respect  
 to his Anger, or his Envy. He, having been  
 bred a Scholar, before he came amongst the  
 People called *Quakers*, and having acquired  
 more of School-Learning than most (it may  
 be, in his own Opinion, than any) of that Peo-  
 ple have, hath given, in himself, a demonstra-  
 tive Proof of the Apostle's Proposition (1 Cor.  
 8. 1.) *Knowledge puffeth up, where Edifying Cha-  
 rity is not joined with it.* For *Humane Knowledge*  
 is apt of it self to lift up Mens Minds, that  
 have, or think they have it, in any degree of  
 Eminency; and makes them think better of  
 themselves, than of others, or than themselves  
 deserve: whereas true Charity useth Know-  
 ledge to instruct, and thereby builds up; not  
 to puzzle and confound, and thereby destroy  
 others:

others: but that Charity this Man not having 1695.  
but being vainly puffed up in his Fleshly  
Mind, from a proud Conceit of his own Abilities; and being gotten into *America* (among a plain People, who better understood the plain and simple Truth, than the nice Distinctions and Subtilties of the Schools) and there advanced to the Office of a School-Master, with a standing Sallary (as I have been informed) of an Hundred and Twenty Pounds by the Year, he soon began, like *Diotrephes* of old (3 *John* 9. 10.) to affect *Praeminence* in the Church; and nothing less would serve his turn, than to rule and over-rule all. And that he might not want Matter to work upon, and some Pretence to begin on, he not only found fault with Friends Ministry and Discipline there; but having, in private Discourses, put some captious and ensnaring Questions to some particular Persons there, whose Simplicity he thought he might most easily betray, he (by wresting their Answers to a wrong Sense) took Advantage to complain against them, for holding, as he said, *gross and vile Errors*; and with impetuous Heat prosecuted his Charge: and not being so fully nor speedily answered, as he expected, by those Friends to whom he complained, who seeing the Innocency of the Accused, and his evil Design in Accusing, could not Countenance him therein, he involved them also in the like Charge of *Cloaking, or Covering gross and vile Errors, Damnable Heresies and Doctrines of Devils,*

1695. *vils, &c.* Nor gave he over, till by continual  
 ~~~~~ Clamours and frequent Disturbances, he had  
 filled Friends Meetings with Strife and Con-
 tention; and at length having leavened a Par-
 ty to himself, made an open Division and Se-
 paration from Friends, setting up separate
 Meetings for himself and his Party, in Oppo-
 sition to the Meetings of Friends before settled
 there. And having got the Printer to his
 Party (and thereby the only Press there at his
 Command) he maliciously put the Difference
 into Print, and thereby spread it not only in
 those Parts of *America*, but in these of *Europe*
 also. These things drew Friends there, after
 much Patience and long Forbearance, to deal
 with him in a Church-way; and to give forth
 at length a Testimony against him; which
 proving uneasy to him, he came over from
 thence to *England*, about the beginning of the
 the Year 1694, of which some Friends of
Pennsylvania having Notice, came over also;
 and at the Yearly Meeting of the People cal-
 led *Quakers*, holden at *London* in the 4th Mon.
 that Year, the Matters relating to that Differ-
 ence being fully heard and considered, the
 Sence of that Meeting was, *That the Separation lay at G. K's door; and that he had done ill, in Printing and Publishing those Differences as he had done.* And the Advice of the Meeting to him thereupon was, *To call in those Books of his, or publish something innocently and effectually to clear the Body of the People called Quakers, and their Ministers, from those gross Errors charged on some*

‘ some few in America; and retract the bitter 1695.
‘ Language in them, so far as he was concerned :
‘ and sincerely to use his utmost Endeavours with his
‘ Friends concerned to remove the Separation, &c.
‘ Which Sence and Advice, being drawn up at
‘ large in Writing, was then in that Meeting
‘ delivered to him, and soon after Printed by
‘ one of his Party, with very envious Reflec-
‘ tions upon it, as may be seen in a small Pam-
‘ phlet, called *A True Account*, &c. to which I
‘ refer. But so far was G. K. from regarding
‘ the Sence, or following the Advice of that
‘ Yearly Meeting, that in several printed Books
‘ by him soon after published, he rejected it,
‘ denying it to be the Sence or Advice of the
‘ Yearly Meeting, or that to be the Yearly
‘ Meeting that gave it. Which Abuse this last
‘ Yearly Meeting (in the 3d Month past) tak-
‘ ing notice of, and upon further dealing with
‘ him, finding him, instead of being humbled
‘ and sorry for the Evil he had done, more hard-
‘ ned therein, justifying himself both by Word
‘ and Writing, and rejecting the Meetings Ad-
‘ vice. That Meeting (after it had heard him
‘ patiently, till he of his own accord withdrew)
‘ gave forth a Testimony against him : which
‘ he hath since Printed, with his Answer there-
‘ unto. As he hath also (in another Pamphlet)
‘ a Copy of his Paper which he read in the
‘ Meeting; together with a Narrative (of his
‘ own making) of the Proceedings of the Meet-
‘ ing with him, and a List of Errors charged
‘ by him on some particular Persons. To each
‘ of

1695. of these I intend to speak, now that I have
 w premised this short Introduction; which I
 thought needful for the Information of any
 such Reader as had not before heard the Rise
 of the Difference, nor the Course of Proceed-
 ings thereupon.

This I thought fit to insert, being so material
 as to the Ground of the Controversie with G.
Kesth: after which T. E. proceeds to Answer
 all his Cavils in his said two Books or Papers.
 And shews that by his disorderly Practices he
 had excluded himself from our Society, before
 Friends disowned him. So leaving him without
 Excuse, and the weight of his Iniquity upon his
 own Head; which he could never get from un-
 der, but waxed worse and worse, as evil Men
 and Seducers use to do: so that Truth was set
 over his Head, and Friends were clear of him.

But now another Occasion offer'd, and that
 was, one Gerard Croese a Dutchman, publishing
A general History (so called) of the Quakers;
 containing the Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, Tryals,
 Speeches and Letters (as pretended) of the most
 eminent of them; First in *Latin*: which was
 Translated, and Printed in *English* in the Year
 1696. Wherein, though he had represented
 some things pretty fairly; yet in others, through
 Inadvertancy or Ignorance (I hope not wilfully)
 he had misrepresented us, and our Principles
 and Practices: whereupon our Friend T. Ell-
 wood, according to an Advertisement at the End
 of the said *History* in *English*, that some Remarks
 on it would be published, he writ some Remarks
 on

on it in *Latin* (perhaps before the *English* came out, which would no doubt have been turn'd in-^{1696.} to *English*) intending, doubtless, to publish 'em; but in the mean time before they were finished, a Book of the same Nature, and to the same purpose, in *Latin*, was published in *Holland* (by way of Remarks or Observations on the said *History*) which seem'd again to circumvent him in his intended Remarks on it, so that he laid 'em by, and never finished them; and so the World was deprived of this Piece also.

But now G. *Keith* being gone out from the Fellowship of the Faithful, and hardened in his Enmity against Friends, he arriv'd to the Top or Height of Opposition, he had been playing small Stakes hitherto; but now came to throw all at once. In order to which he Erected a Stage of Contention at *Turners-Hall* in *Philpot-Lane, London* (where he had held Separate Meetings for some time before) to oppose Friends in general, under pretence of discovering divers Errors out of the *Quakers Books* (that were never in them) and published an Advertisement of a Meeting he intended to hold there, in the 4th Month, 1696, to discover the *Quakers Errors* (though he had been one so long himself, and vindicated them, as to all that any could Object against, and yet now came to accuse them himself;) but Friends slighted him, not thinking it worth their while to follow him, or Dance after his Pipe to *Turners-Hall*. Of which contentious Meeting he afterwards published a Narrative; which our Friend T. E. answered, this Year, in
a Book

1696. a Book intituled *An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turners-Hall, &c.* wherein his Charges against divers of the People called Quakers (in that and another Book of his, called *Gross Errors, &c.*) are fairly considered, examined and refuted. And he made his Title good in a close Answer, and entire Confutation of all his Cavils against our Friends Books: which, because I have given the Preambles or Introductions of his former, to illustrate the matter, I shall also, in like manner, introduce this with his general Account of the Controversie (by way of Introduction to his Answer) being so pertinent to the Case in hand, for the Readers better Information and Satisfaction, which follows, beginning thus:

‘ It is not surely, without good Reason, that
 ‘ the Church of Christ, here on Earth, is called
 ‘ the *Church Militant*: For (besides the Inward
 ‘ and Spiritual Enemies, which her several
 ‘ Members have to encounter with, in their
 ‘ Pilgrimage through this troublesome World)
 ‘ such hath been, and is, her Lot and Portion,
 ‘ that she hath rarely been free from outward
 ‘ Enemies of one kind or other, her great Ad-
 ‘ versary, *Satan*, continually raising up some
 ‘ Evil Instruments or other to fall upon her;
 ‘ all aiming at her Ruin, though after divers
 ‘ ways and manners. Sometimes the Civil
 ‘ Powers, under which she hath lived, have
 ‘ been stirred up to proclaim, as it were, open
 ‘ War against her, and to inflict severe and
 ‘ heavy Penalties upon her, for her faithful Ad-
 ‘ herence

herence to her Lord and Master, Christ Jesus. 1696.
 When through Faith and Patience, she hath
 overcome, and the Wrath and Fury of Men
 hath been asswaged, so that she hath had some
 respite from those outward Sufferings; Then
 hath her old Adversary (the common Enemy
 of Mankind) bestir'd himself in another
 way, to raise up *Persecution* against her of a-
 nother kind, by instigating some or other (ei-
 ther such as were always avowed Enemies to
 her, or such as for sometime appeared to be of
 her, but by the sweep of his Tail had been
 struck off from her) to speak or write against
 her, falsely to accuse her, and load her with the
 foulest Reproaches, and most infamous Slan-
 ders and Scandals, that by so misrepresenting
 her, they might hinder others from joining to,
 or favouring her, and stir up the Civil Magi-
 strate again, to persecute her afresh. This
 hath been the Lot, this the Condition of the
 Little Flock of Christ in former Ages, as *Ec-
 clestical Histories* declare. . As for the present
 Age, and with respect to the People called
Quakers (whom God, by an invisible Arm of
 Power, hath raised up, and held up, and
 made a peculiar People to himself) Experi-
 ence gives sufficient Proof, the Matter being
 yet fresh in Memory. For (not to look back
 so far as that which was called the *Common-
 wealth's* Time, wherein many of the Leading
 Men, in most Professions, put forth their ut-
 most Strength against us, both in Preaching
 and Printing, raising those false Reports con-
 D d cerning

1696. concerning us, and charging many false Accusa-
 tions upon us, with respect both to *Doctrine*
 and *Practice*, which others of our Adversaries,
 that followed after, have taken up upon trust
 from them) no sooner was that great Persecu-
 tion a little abated (which soon after the Re-
 storation of K. *Charles the Second*, through the
 Fault of some *Dissenters*, fell upon *all*, but most
 heavily upon *us*) and that a little Calm and
 Quiet ensued; but out came several Books a-
 gainst us, written by some of those Professors,
 who either in some measure did suffer, or (if
 they had been faithful to their own Principle)
 should have suffered in the same Storm with
 us. By that time the Dust, which those Books
 had raised, was laid by our Answers thereun-
 to, a fresh Persecution from the Government
 arose, upon the *Informing Act*, the main weight
 of which, it is well known, fell upon us; they
 who before, and afterwards, assaulted us in
 Print, finding ways then to hide, and save
 themselves from Suffering. But when that
 Storm was a little over, out they came again,
 and in divers Books, written by *Faldo*, *Hicks*,
 and others, heaped up many wrong Charges,
 Defamations, Slanders and false Accusations
 against us; all which were refuted, and wiped
 off in our Books, Printed in Answer thereun-
 to: Nor have those of other Professions been
 so forward to attack us since. But now that
 Liberty of Conscience, in the free Exercise of
 Religious Worship, is by Authority granted,
 and thereby outward Sufferings, in a great
 measure,

' measure, abated; our old Enemy, envying us ^{1696.}
 ' so great a Benefit (though but in common ^w
 ' with others) hath contrived ways and means
 ' to raise a *New War* against us; by stirring up
 ' some, who have formerly walked with us, and
 ' for some time professed to be of us (but upon
 ' some peevish Discontent or other, have turned
 ' aside and left us) to turn now against us, and
 ' oppose us, and to pour forth Floods of Re-
 ' proach, Slanders and false Accusations upon
 ' us. His chief Agent, at present, in this Work,
 ' is *George Keith a Scotchman*, whose *ambitious*
 ' *Aims* not being answered, nor his *absurd* and
 ' *fantastical Notions* received by and amongst the
 ' People called *Quakers*, he is now become, of
 ' a *seeming Friend*, a *real Enemy*. He having
 ' published many Books against us, and in de-
 ' fence of those Books wrangled with us for a
 ' while in Print, till he found himself too closely
 ' pinched, to be able to give an Answer fit to be
 ' seen in Print, hath at length bethought him-
 ' self of a *Wile* to excuse himself from answer-
 ' ing: which was, To set up a kind of *Judicial*
 ' *Court*, of his *own Head*, and by his *own Authori-*
 ' *ty*, in a place at his *own Command*, on a Day of
 ' his *own Appointing*, there to charge and try di-
 ' vers of us who are called *Quakers*, whether
 ' present or absent, concerning Matters of *Faith*
 ' and *Doctrine*; and that the rude Multitude
 ' might not be wanting to his Assistance there,
 ' he gave publick notice of it some time before,
 ' by an Advertisement in Print, and therein a
 ' sort of *Summons* to some of us by Name, to o-
 '

1696. ' thers by Designation, to be present. This *Ar-*
 ' *bitrary* Proceeding, and *Usurped* Authority, as
 ' we judged it unreasonable in him to impose,
 ' so we did not think fit to submit to, or own,
 ' and therefore forbore to appear at the time
 ' and place by him appointed. Yet lest any
 ' whom he should draw thither, might mistake
 ' the Cause of our not appearing, the Reasons
 ' thereof, drawn up in short Heads, were sent
 ' thither to be Read, and given among the Peo-
 ' ple: which they were. However, according
 ' to his before declared Intention, to proceed
 ' whether any of us were there or no, he, being
 ' Judge in his own Court, over-ruled our Reasons,
 ' and went on to Arraign, and Convict us ab-
 ' sent. The *Pageantry*, of which Days Work, as
 ' acted there by himself, he hath since Publish-
 ' ed, with his Name to it, under the Title of
 ' *An Exact Narrative of the Proceedings at Tur-*
 ' *ners Hall, &c. Together with the Disputes and*
 ' *Speeches there, between G. Keith, and other Qua-*
 ' *kers, differing from him in some Religious Princi-*
 ' *ples.* How Idle is this in him, to pretend in
 ' his Title to give an Account of Disputes and
 ' Speeches between him and other Quakers,
 ' when as his *Narrative* it self gives no Account
 ' of any Dispute there, nor any thing like it:
 ' and of that little that was said by any of those
 ' few Quakers, that were present, most was to
 ' the People (tending to shew them the Unrea-
 ' sonableness of his Undertaking, and desiring
 ' them to reserve one Bar for the other side) ve-
 ' ry little of it to him.

Then

Then he goes on to shew G. K's Falshood^c in 1696. calling it *An Exact Narrative*; and yet not Inserting the Reasons why our Friends did not Appear, which he Confesses were Read; and his Falacies in evading them, which therefore T. E. sets down, Obviates G. K's Quibbles on them: So proceeds to Answer his *Narrative*, Clearing the Quotations he brought out of our Friends Books, from his Perversions (being either unfairly or falsely Quoted, or perverted in their Sense, to what they never intended; according to his Carping and Caviling Way.) Vindicating the soundness of their Doctrine, shewing G. K's self-contradictions (in opposing what he had so often Vindicated as Orthodox; and yet pretending to hold the same Doctrines and Principles still) and laying open his Deceit, Falshood and Prevarications so plainly and effectually, that G. K. never reply'd to it; and good reason why; because he could not to the Purpose, being Answered home, and defeated in all his Vile Pretences, Envious Cavils, and False Accusations.

But being Pinch'd and driven to a Nonplus, by Quotations out of his own Books, in favour of what he opposed (which he could not Answer;) wherein he had Asserted or Defended the same Doctrines and Principles, in as plain or higher Words, which he now blamed Friends for as Gross Errors, &c. Which yet he would not allow to be so in himself, but paliated them under the soft Term of *Mistakes*: Saying, *Narrative* p. 15. *I know not any fundamental Principle, nor indeed any one Principle of Christian Faith, that*

1696. *I have varied from to this Day, ever since I came among the Quakers; which is about Thirty Three Tears ago.—* And in his Preface to his *Nar.* p. 6. he says, *The things* (he does not call them Errors, nor hardly ever uses the word Error with respect to himself, and his own Writings.—) *that need Correction in my Books, compared with the vile Errors in theirs, are but as my Motes to their Beams:—* Nor are they such things as oppose any Christian Principles of Faith: *But of an inferior Nature.* [and yet they were as full in the Points, as any he could Cite out of ours.] And in *The true Copy of a Paper*, Printed 1694. where, in p. 17. he faintly intimates a purpose, to Publish some short *Explanation, &c.—* of some Words and Passages in his former Books. He adds, *For upon a Review of my former Books,—I freely Acknowledge, I have found some Passages and Words, that not only need some farther Explanation; but even in some part, an Emendation and Correction.* How gently doth he Touch himself? (says T. E.) How softly doth he handle his own Sores? Not a Syllable of Errors or Heresie there; No, the hardest word he can afford to give them, is, his former Mistakes: And lest the Reader should extend them too far, he explains it in the next Page, saying, *Upon the most Impartial search I have made, I find not any Cause to Correct either my Judgment or Books, as touching any of the great Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion; nor do I know that I am of another Faith in any one Principle of Christian Doctrine, contrary to what I believed, ever since I went under the Profession of a Quaker, so Called.* With much more to the same purpose. Thus

Thus Partial was he as to himself, notwithstanding his loud Clamours and outcries of *vile Errors* against the Quakers, for the same things he had held himself, which yet were no *Errors* in him ; such a Hypocrite was he to Dissemble with God and Man. So that when he found his Doctrines Compared with what he Accused Friends of, and saw they were the same, or parallel ; 'twas to no purpose for him to go to Vindicate or Clear himself of what was so Notorious : And therefore procured another, or at least he undertook it for him, under disguise of the *Snake in the Grass* : And so to slide by the Quotations out of his Books, that lay in his Way ; which would have been a shame for G. K. to do (a *Snake in the Grass* indeed) pretending in his Preface, that *it was not meant as a Defence of George Keith, any further than he defended the Truth of the Christian Faith ; for which Reason* (says he) *I have wholly omitted all the Personal Reflections cast upon him, and the Contradictions which Thomas Ellwood pretends to find in his former Books (while he was a Quaker of their Communion) to the Doctrine he now sets up in opposition to them.* And so gave the go by to whatever pincht him, which was the design, as T. E. observes, to help G. Keith off at a dead Lift, from his manifold and manifest self Contradictions, which it was impossible for him to Reconcile or Defend ; and because it had been as absurd for him to have undertaken a Reply to T. E's Answer. and not have attempted to acquit himself of those Contradictions charged upon him therein, as it

1696. would have been impossible for him to have
 { Clear'd himself of them. Therefore this Contrivance was found out, that another (or perhaps he in a Mask, under the disguise of another, for Satan, though disrob'd from his Disguise of Light, has many black Robes and dark Disguises to put on) should undertake the Task of Replying (for a Task it seems it was) upon such a Foot, and under such Circumstances, as might give him some colourable Pretence to wave the Contradictions, and wholly to omit them, and with them whatsoever else he found too hard to meddle with.

So that any one might plainly see this was a Contrivance (as our Friend *T. E.* observes) to help *G. K.* out at a dead Lift. To which Book of the *Snake's*, *T. E.* writ an Answer, though he did not quite finish it, or publish it: Of which, and that Controversie, he gives the following Account.

‘ This Controversie begun by *George Keith*
 ‘ (upon a Pick he took against the People called
 ‘ *Quakers*; because they could not Answer his
 ‘ Ambitious desire of Rule, nor receive some
 ‘ Wild and Fantastical Notions of his) has been
 ‘ carried on by him, in his own Name, ’till he
 ‘ could go no further. The Doctrines he Con-
 ‘ demns us for, as Erroneous and Heretical,
 ‘ have been either so clearly cast off by us, as
 ‘ Slanders, or so Rivetted on himself by un-
 ‘ deniable Instances and Proofs taken out of
 ‘ his own Books, that (having fore-closed
 ‘ his way to a Retraction of them, as shall be
 ‘ shewed

' shewed anon) he had no way left, but (as his 1697.
 ' last shift) to shift the Cause into anothers
 ' Hand; to carry it on under the disguise of a-
 ' another Person; which brought to my Mind
 ' the Fable of *Achelous*, who being too weak for
 ' his Antagonist in fair Force, was fain to shift
 ' from one Shape to another; first to that of a
 ' Snake, then to that of a Bull; and is thereup-
 ' on brought in by the Poet: Saying,

Inferior Virtute, meas divertor ad Artes
Elaborque Viro, Longum formatus in Anguem, &c.
 Metam. Lib. 9. Fab. 1.

In Strength too Weak, I to my Wiles betake,
 And slide from Man, into a Twining Snake.

' Somewhat a like Crafty Course has *G. Keith*
 ' taken; who finding himself over prest the last
 ' Year with Books, which he knew not how to
 ' Answer; got (as was supposed) an Adjutant
 ' of his, to Publish a Book against us under Dis-
 ' guise, without a Name to it, and with the ve-
 ' ry Title of *The Snake in the Grass*: Thereby to
 ' have diverted us from pursuing the Controver-
 ' sie (then, and still in Hand) with him: But
 ' when he found that would not do (for the de-
 ' sign was seen) he Roar'd against us like a Bull,
 ' at *Turners-Hall*, in the Month called *June*,
 ' 1696. and afterwards in his *Narrative* there-
 ' of: The Answer to that (which soon followed)
 ' has, it seems, involv'd him in such difficulties,
 ' that he hath not thought fit to appear against
 ' it in his own Shape; but either assuming ano-
 ' ther

1697. ' ther Person, or turning over his broken Forces
 W' (with the united Forces of the whole Party)
 ' to the Hissing Author of the *Snake*; they have
 ' amongst them, lately thrust forth another
 ' Book, as a Reply to that Answer of mine to
 ' G. Keith's *Narrative*: This (without a Name
 ' too, and said to be written by the Author of the
 ' *Snake in the Grass*) is called *Satan Dis-rob'd*
 ' from his disguise of *Light*. But the observant
 ' Reader will find Cause enough, I think, to
 ' Conclude, that whoever writ it, was fully In-
 ' rob'd in *Satan's* over-Guise and proper Dress of
 ' *Darkness*, from the many bitter and scornful
 ' Invectives therein used against the *Light*.

And for the Controversie it self, he Remarks.

' 1. That the matters therein Charged upon
 ' us, are generally the same that have been
 ' charged on us heretofore, by *Faldo*, *Hicks*, and
 ' other Adversaries; and always Refuted over
 ' and over, both formerly and of late.

' 2. That the things they Charge on us, as
 ' Errors and Heresie, are not pretended to be
 ' proved by any plain express Positions or Asser-
 ' tions of ours; but from our Adversaries own
 ' perverse meanings, and wrested Constructions
 ' of our Words; always Denied and Rejected
 ' by us.

' 3. That the Words and Passages brought
 ' by our Adversaries for Proof of their Charges
 ' against us, are not taken out of our Doctrinal
 ' Treatises, or Declarations of Faith and Prin-
 ' ciples; but (for the most part) out of Contro-
 ' versial Books; wherein, oft times, the scope
 ' and

and aim of the Author is, not so much to As- 1697.
sert or Express his own Principles or Doctrines,
as to Impugn and Expose his Adversaries, by
shewing the Contradictions, Absurdities, and
ill Consequences of his Adversaries Opinions;
from whence, Positively to conclude the Au-
thors own Judgment, is neither safe nor fair.

4. That however any of our former Adver-
saries, might have been misled in their Judg-
ments concerning us, *G. Keith*, who hath now
moved this Controversie against us, knows full
well, that we do not hold those things either
generally as a People, or as particular Persons,
which he has charged on us as Errors. As a
People he has clearly acquitted us from them,
in his *Preface* to his *Narrative*, P. 6. where
he says, *I charge them not, either upon the Gene-
rality, far less upon the Universality of all them
called Quakers.* For particular Persons, hear
what he says of *George Whitehead*, one of the
principal Butts he shoots at *Nar.* p. 16. where
having charged him with *Denying that Christ
in Heaven has any bodily Existence without us*, be-
ing conscious that *G. Whitehead* did not so hold,
but that he had therein abused him, he im-
mediatly adds, *If he (G. W.) has said otherwise
in any of his late printed Books, I am glad of it.*
And a Line lower, *There is a G. Whitehead
Orthodox, and a G. Whitehead not Orthodox. He
is— in this and some other things Orthodox and
not Orthodox:* and a little further, *I own it,
that I have cited divers Passages out of his later
Books, that are Orthodox, to prove him sound.*
What

1697. ' What can be made of all this, but that G.
 ~~~~~ ' *Whitehead* was Orthodox and Sound in his own  
 ' both Intentions and Expressions; not Ortho-  
 ' dox in *G. Keith's* perverse and false Constructi-  
 ' ons? And whereas he harps upon the Word  
 ' *later Books*, thereby to insinuate as if *G. W.*  
 ' had of late altered his Judgment: he has cut  
 ' off that also in his *Nar.* p. 38. where he gives  
 ' an Account, That in the Year 1678. (which  
 ' is Eighteen Years ago) *some* (whom he would  
 ' not Name) *Questioning him about some Princi-*  
 ' *ples in a Book of his*, both *G. Whitehead* and *W.*  
 ' *Penn* took part with him against them, though  
 ' those Principles (as he calls them) which he  
 ' says he was then *Questioned about*, were of the  
 ' same Nature with some of those he now  
 ' charges upon them as Errors. From whence  
 ' it appears, that he found them then, as well as  
 ' now, *Sound and Orthodox* in those Principles.  
 ' 5. That as this Controversie lies properly  
 ' and directly between *G. Keith* and us, and  
 ' that he being baffled in it, and driven to a *Ne*  
 ' *plus ultra* on his own Part, hath contrived to  
 ' carry it on under Disguise, by the Assistance  
 ' of another (yet without a Name) who under  
 ' pretence of *Indifferency, and being unconcerned*  
 ' *with or for G. Keith*, should drop the Quota-  
 ' tions I had loaded him with, out of his own  
 ' Books against himself, and thereby free him  
 ' (if he could) from those pinching *Dilemma's*  
 ' which lay against him, and draw *Dun* (as the  
 ' Proverb speaks) *out of the mire*, he was plung'd  
 ' into: so to obviate and disappoint the Design.  
 ' That

' That I may not suffer my self to be bubbled 1697.  
 ' by such Artificial Shams, but that the Con-  
 ' troversie may be kept (as much as may be)  
 ' upon its first Bottom, I have thought fit in  
 ' this Rejoinder, so to order the Matter, as not  
 ' to let *G. Keith* slip away (which I perceive  
 ' he would fain do) while I am contending with  
 ' I know not whom in this Quarrel. There-  
 ' fore as I pass through the several Heads of  
 ' the Controversie, I purpose not only to An-  
 ' swer the most material Cavils of the present  
 ' Adversary, but withal to repeat (some at least  
 ' of) those Passages that lay so heavy upon *G.*  
 ' *Keith*, and settle (not to use his own smithing  
 ' Metaphors of *Clinching* and *Rivetting*) them  
 ' faster on him; to the end that both the Rea-  
 ' der may more plainly see the true Reason why  
 ' *G. Keith* did not himself reply, in his own  
 ' Name, to my Answer to his Narrative, and  
 ' *G. Keith* may know that I expect it from  
 ' him, and in the mean time look upon him  
 ' but as a baffled shifting Adversary.

' He begins his Epistle with telling his Rea-  
 ' der that *his Reply is short in Comparison of the*  
 ' *Answer*. Therein he and I agree, but in *Words*  
 ' rather than in *Meaning*; for he means in  
 ' Number of Pages, I mean in Truth and fair  
 ' Dealing, in which I am confident the indif-  
 ' ferent Reader will find his Reply *short* indeed:  
 ' And even as to Bulk, upon due Consideration,  
 ' the Disproportion is not so great as he would  
 ' represent it, for his Book is rather more than  
 ' half as big as mine, though he replies not to  
 ' the

1697. the Tenth Part of the Matter contained in  
 mine. He makes nothing of skipping over  
 Ten or Fifteen Pages at a time, so nimble  
 heel'd he is. [And yet this is the Man that  
 caution'd the *Quakers*, that if they answer'd his  
*Book* (Snake, 3d Edit. p. 344.) that they would  
 reply distinctly,— and not Answer a Book as Rats  
 do, by nibbling at some Corners of the Leaves, steal-  
 ing through it like Moths, to no other Purpose than  
 to deface some Words at a venture; who yet could  
 reply thus slightly himself ] ' Nay in his first  
 Page he throws off no less than Twenty Five  
 Pages at once, and barely mentioning, in less  
 than Nine Lines, a few Words contained in  
 some of them, without a Syllable of Reply  
 thereto, sets in his Margin *Reply to the first*  
*Twenty three Pages*; and yet he hath the Con-  
 fidence to miscall his Book, and that even in  
 the same Page, *A full Reply* (he might better  
 have called it a *foul and false Reply*) to T. Ell-  
 wood's *Answer*. And in his Epistle says, *he*  
*has omitted nothing that is material*. I suppose  
 he means, that he has omitted nothing which  
 he thought might tend to abuse and defame the  
*Quakers*, and me: for that he has omitted the  
 most material Parts of my Book, and thrust  
 in many Passages, idle, impertinent, false and  
 wholly foreign to the Subject, only that he  
 might misrepresent, ridicule and slander us,  
 I shall have occasion hereafter, by plenty of  
 Instances, to shew.

I might cite a great deal more, to explicate  
 this Controversie, and shew their Dis-ingenuity  
 in

in it; but by this we may judge what a Reply <sup>1697.</sup> this of the *Snake's* was, and by this Taste (to use his own Words at the End of the *Snake*) the Reader may guess what a plentiful Meal we might have had, if T. E. had published his *Rejoinder*, but that, as I said, he did not; for what Reason I cannot justly assign: for though our Friend George *Whitehead* (in his Answer to the *Snake in the Grass*) writ also *A brief Examination of some Passages in the said Book of the Snake's, stiled Satan Disrob'd, &c.* as being concerned therein; yet he refer'd to a further Answer by T. E. p. 186. judging it 'No fair Reply to 'T. Ellwood's Answer; and so it appears (says he) and I expect will be made further appear, 'if T. Ellwood deems it worth the while to undertake it: Which he did, and writ Twenty seven Sheets in order thereto; and why he should be prevented from publishing it, by G. *Whitehead's Brief Examination*, I do not see, being much larger and fuller; but perceive he was so modest, that he was apt to be put by of his Work, if any other put in before him; as will further appear on another Occasion hereafter. And so I shall leave it, hoping however one time or other, to see this, and some other of his Posthumous Works published by themselves, as they well deserve.

And here our Friend drop'd his Pen, till another Occasion offer'd.

And that was next (or at least the next he laid hold on) after a Vacancy of two or three Years, on this Occasion.

Some

1698. Some Angry Priests in *Norfolk*, on our Friends having a Meeting near one of them, and Truth spreading to their regret, they challenged a Dispute with some of our Friends at *West-Deerham* in that County, the 8th of the Tenth Month, 1698. where some of our Friends appearing, and answering them, so disappointed the Priests in their envious Designs in the said Dispute, that they afterwards promoted two Petitions against our Friends to the Parliament (one from *Norfolk*, the other from *Suffolk*) to stir up Persecution against them, that what they could not do by Arguments, they might by Force. To which two Petitions our Friend *T. Ellwood* (having obtained Copies of them) writ *A sober Reply on behalf of the People called Quakers, to two Petitions against them (the one out of Norfolk, and the other from Bury in Suffolk) being some brief Observations upon them, &c.*

1699. Printed 1699, manifesting their mischievous Machinations against the Truth and Friends; which, with some other Discouragements, through the Labour and Industry of Friends at *London*, in attending the Parliament, and delivering Printed Papers; particularly, *A few Considerations humbly offered to the Members of Parliament, to obviate some Evil Jealousies and Designs against the People called Quakers*, so quashed their malicious Purposes, that their Petitions were never delivered to, or receiv'd by the Parliament; but fell, and came to nothing, and their Evil Designs were frustrated, Friends were preserved, and Truth prospered over their Heads. About



About this time also, our Friend *William Penn* 1696. being gone to *Pennsylvania* (in the 7th Month this Year) and *G. Keith* continuing his Opposition against Truth and Friends; sometimes more general at *Turners-Hall*, where, as the Course of his *Dilivious Distemper* returned (as *Joseph Wyeth* observes, in his Answer to his Advertisement this Year) he held his Contentious Meetings, once a Year, to pick Passages out of our Friends Books to Cavil at (though he could not Answer nor Clear himself of *T. Ellwood's*, or others that were writ against him) And sometimes more particularly against single Persons, especially *William Penn*, against whom he chose to vent his Malice above most others; especially now in his Absence, making him the Butt of his Indignation; and published two Books against him, one called *The Deism of William Penn and his Brethren*, &c. This our Friend *T. Ellwood* undertook to Answer, and made a considerable Progress in it, in a large Book, of between Thirty and Forty Sheets: which I shall cite some of, Beginning thus.

‘ We read of one in former Times, who, because he had given up himself to do Evil, was  
 ‘ said to have *sold himself to work Wickedness in*  
 ‘ *the Sight of the Lord*, 1 Kings 21: 20, and 25.  
 ‘ Whether *George Keith* hath directly sold him-  
 ‘ self, or only let himself out to hire, I will not  
 ‘ undertake to determine; but evident it is,  
 ‘ that since he crept into the Interest of that  
 ‘ which is called the *Church of England*, and be-  
 ‘ come a mercenary Hackney to some of the  
 E e ‘ Clergy,

1699. ‘ *Clergy*, he hath laid out himself, with his utmost Vigour, to *work Wickedness*, not only in the Sight of the Lord, but in the Sight of the Sun; asserting, defending, maintaining and upholding divers both *Doctrines* and *Practices* in Religion, which upon a declared full Conviction, and from a professed Assurance of Divine Openings, and Immediate Guidance of the *Holy Spirit*, he had before not only Renounced, but declared and written against, as *False, Superstitious* (if not *Idolatrous*) and *Antichristian*; And to fill up his Measure of *Iniquity*, and heap it up, that it might run over, he hath not only (to gratifie his Supporters) shot his unadvised Bolts at the several other Bodies of *Protestant Dissenters*, but, in an especial manner (and in a most virulent, and to him peculiar Stile) hath vomitted Floods, not of *Reproach* only and *bitter Revilings*; but of the most *malicious Slanders* and *Falshoods*, that ever, perhaps, were poured from the Pulpit, or squeezed through the Press against the People called *Quakers*, whom once he owned for his Brethren, and with whom he professed to hold Communion for more than Thirty Years. Herein he hath exceeded good *Joseph* of Old in his Liberality, but in another kind: that good Man bestowed a *Fivefold-Mess* of his *good Things* on his Brother *Benjamin*, as a Token of his peculiar and abundant Love to him. This bad Man has bestowed *double* and *treble* that proportion of his *evil Things* on us: The Effect of his peculiar and superabundant Hatred to us, to say  
‘ nothing

' nothing here of his railing Rhetorick and bit- 1699.  
 ' ter Invectives against us, wherewith he hath  
 ' prophaned the Pulpit (which lie under the just  
 ' Censure of the more discreet and well-minded  
 ' of his Auditors) An Instance of his Malice  
 ' and Injustice from the Press, is a late Book of  
 ' his (now lying before me) called *The Deism of*  
 ' *William Penn and his Brethren, destructive to*  
 ' *the Christian Religion, exposed, &c.* The Word  
 ' [*Deism*] being somewhat an uncommon  
 ' Term, may not, perhaps, be readily under-  
 ' stood by every Reader. As it has been oppo-  
 ' sed to *Atheism*, it has been taken in a good  
 ' Sense; but as it is now used it is taken in an ill  
 ' sence, as importing an Acknowledgment, or  
 ' owning of God *only*, or of the *Godhead*; but  
 ' not of Christ, with respect to his Incarnation,  
 ' or being manifest in the Flesh, for the Re-  
 ' demption of Man: So that to Charge any one  
 ' now with *Deism*, is to Charge him with deny-  
 ' ing that Christ is Come, and hath Suffered in  
 ' the Flesh. Now herein *G. Keith's* both In-  
 ' justice and Malice, is the greater, in Charging  
 ' *W. Penn*, and his Brethren the *Quakers*, with  
 ' *Deism*; in as much as he assuredly knows  
 ' (which some other Adversaries have not had  
 ' the like opportunity to know, as he hath had)  
 ' by certain Experience, drawn by so many  
 ' Years intimate Conversation with *W. P.* and  
 ' the *Quakers*, in free and familiar Conferences,  
 ' and in Reading their Books, that *W. P.* and  
 ' the *Quakers*, both in Word and Writing, Pub-  
 ' lickly and Privately, have always, and on all

1699. ' Occasions, Confest, Acknowledged, Owned  
 ' as well as Believed, the Incarnation of Christ,  
 ' according to the Holy Scriptures, viz. *That*  
 ' *the Word was made Fleſh* (John 1. 14.) *That*  
 ' *when the fulneſs of time was come, God ſent forth*  
 ' *his Son made of a Woman, made under the Law,*  
 ' *to Redeem them that were under the Law* (Gal. 4.  
 ' 4, 5.) *That Chriſt Jeſus being in the form of*  
 ' *God, and thinking it no Robbery to be equal with*  
 ' *God; made himſelf of no Reputation, and took*  
 ' *upon him the form of a Servant, and was made in*  
 ' *the likenefſ of Men; and being found in faſhion*  
 ' *as a Man, he humbled himſelf, and became obedi-*  
 ' *ent unto Death, even the Death of the Croſs*  
 ' *(Phil. 2. 5, 6, 7, 8.) Chriſt Dyed for our Sins, ac-*  
 ' *cording to the Scriptures, and that he was Buried,*  
 ' *and that he Roſe again the Third Day, according*  
 ' *to the Scriptures* (1 Cor. 15. 3, 4.) *That he was*  
 ' *delivered for our Offences, and was raiſed again*  
 ' *for our Juſtification* (Rom. 4. 25.) *That he is*  
 ' *the Propitiation for our Sins; and not for ours on-*  
 ' *ly, but for the Sins of the whole World.* (1 John  
 ' 2. 2.) *That he aſcended up far above all Heavens,*  
 ' *that he might fill all things* (Ephes. 4. 10.) *That*  
 ' *he is the one Mediator between God and Men,* (1  
 ' Tim. 2. 5.) *That he is at the Right Hand of*  
 ' *God, and maketh interceſſion for us,* (Rom. 8.  
 ' 34.) *And is our Advocate with the Father,* (1  
 ' John 2. 1.) *And that it is he which was ordained*  
 ' *of God, to be the Judge of Quick and Dead.*  
 ' (Acts 10. 42.) Theſe things, I ſay, G. Keith  
 ' certainly knows, have been conſtantly Held,  
 ' Believed, Profeſſed and Owned by W. Penn  
 ' and

‘ and his Brethren, the *Quakers*, in General, both 1699.  
 ‘ Privately and Publickly, in Word and Wri-  
 ‘ ting. These things are so often Testified of  
 ‘ in our Meetings, and have been so fully and  
 ‘ plainly asserted and held forth in our Books,  
 ‘ that we might call in almost as many Witnesses  
 ‘ thereof, as have frequented our Meetings, or  
 ‘ Attentively Read our Books.

‘ The Book of *W. P.*s. Called *A Discourse of*  
 ‘ *the general Rule of Faith and Life*. (To which  
 ‘ *G. K.*s *Deism* is an Answer) *G. K.* tells us in  
 ‘ his Preface, *was first Printed in the Year, 1673.*  
 ‘ As an Appendix to *W. P.*s. part of the *Christi-*  
 ‘ *an Quaker*. (A Folio Book, in Two Parts;  
 ‘ the former written by *W. Penn*, the latter by  
 ‘ *G. Whitehead*) In that former part of the *Chri-*  
 ‘ *stian Quaker*, written by *W. Penn* (though the  
 ‘ tendency of it is to Assert and Defend the Di-  
 ‘ vinity of Christ, and his Spiritual Appearance,  
 ‘ by his Divine Light in the Hearts of *Men*; yet)  
 ‘ there it enough said concerning his Manhood,  
 ‘ his Outward Appearance, and Sufferings in  
 ‘ the Flesh; to free *W. Penn* from the Imputa-  
 ‘ tion or Suspicion of *Deism*.— In p. 101. *W. P.*  
 ‘ says, Notwithstanding the same Light and  
 ‘ Life, with that which afterwards cloathed it  
 ‘ self with that Outward Body, did in measure,  
 ‘ Inwardly appear for the Salvation of the Souls  
 ‘ of *Men*: Yet, as I have often said, never did  
 ‘ that Life so eminently put forth it self, to that  
 ‘ end, as in that Sanctified and prepared Body;  
 ‘ so that what he then Suffered and did, in that  
 ‘ Transcendent Manifestation, may, by way of

1699. ' Eminency, assume the whole work unto it self,  
 ' that he ever did before, or might do after-  
 ' wards. P. 102. His Righteous Life, with  
 ' respect to its appearance in that Body, was  
 ' grieved by Sin, and the weight of the Iniqui-  
 ' ty of the whole World, with the concernment  
 ' of its Eternal Well-being, lay hard upon him;  
 ' nor was his *Manhood* insensible of it, under the  
 ' load of this, did he Travel: *He alone trod the*  
 ' *Wine-press, &c.*— *Not that we would irreverently*  
 ' *Rob the Holy Body of whatsoever acknowledge-*  
 ' *ment is justly due; nor yet separate what God join-*  
 ' *ed,* P. 104.— Chap. 21. A Confession in par-  
 ' ticular, to Christ's Redemption; Remission,  
 ' Justification and Salvation.— Which was actu-  
 ' ally to the Salvation of some, and intentionally  
 ' of the whole World.— As there was a necessity  
 ' that *one should Die for the People*; so who-  
 ' ever then, or since, Believed in him, had, and  
 ' have a Seal, or Confirmation of the *Remission*  
 ' of their Sins, in his Blood.— This grand assu-  
 ' rance of Remission do all receive, in the Rati-  
 ' fying Blood of Christ, who Repenting of their  
 ' Sins, Believe and Obey the Holy Light, with  
 ' which he hath Illuminated them.— P. 107.  
 ' But there is yet a further Benefit that accrueth  
 ' by the Blood of Christ, *viz.* That *Christ is a*  
 ' *Propitiation and Redemption, to such as have*  
 ' *Faith in it*: For though I still place the stress of  
 ' particular Benefit upon the Light, Life and  
 ' Spirit Revealed and Witnessed in every Parti-  
 ' cular: Yet in that general Appearance, there  
 ' was a general Benefit, justly to be attributed  
 ' to


' to the Blood of that very Body of Christ; to 1699.  
 ' wit, that it did Propitiate: For however it  
 ' might draw stupendious Judgments upon the  
 ' Heads of those who were Authors of that dis-  
 ' mal *Tragedy*, and died Impenitent; yet doubt-  
 ' less, it thus far turned to very great Account,  
 ' in that it was a most precious Offering in the  
 ' sight of the Lord, and drew God's Love the  
 ' more eminently to Mankind; at least, such as  
 ' should Believe in his Name. P. 108. Doubt-  
 ' less it did greatly Influence, to some singular  
 ' Tenderneſs and peculiar Regard unto all ſuch,  
 ' as ſhould Believe in his Name, among other  
 ' his weighty Performances: For the ſake of  
 ' that laſt, and greateſt of all his External Acts,  
 ' the reſiſting unto Blood, for the Spiritual good  
 ' of the World, thereby offering up his Life up-  
 ' on the Croſs, through the Power of the Eter-  
 ' nal Spirit that Remiſſion of Sin, God's Bounty  
 ' to the World, might be Preached in his Name,  
 ' and in his very Blood too, as that which was  
 ' the moſt Ratifying of all his Bodily Sufferings.  
 ' And indeed, therefore might it ſeem meet to  
 ' the Holy Ghoſt, that Redemption, Propitia-  
 ' tion and Remiſſion ſhould be Declared, and  
 ' held forth in the Blood of Chriſt, unto all that  
 ' have a right Faith therein; as ſaith the Apo-  
 ' ſtle to the *Romans*;— becauſe it implies a firm  
 ' Belief, that *Chriſt was come in the Fleſh*, and  
 ' that none could then have him as their *Propiti-*  
 ' *ation* and *Redemption*, who withſtood the ac-  
 ' knowledgment of, and belief in his *Viſible Ap-*  
 ' *pearance*.— P. 110. Faith in his Blood was re-

1699. ' quifite, that they might Confefs him, whose  
 ' Body and Blood it was, to be Chrift. To Con-  
 ' clude, we confefs, ~~He~~ who then appeared,  
 ' was and is the Propitiation, &c. and in him  
 ' was Redemption obtained by all thofe, who  
 ' had fuch true Faith in his Blood.

' Thus much (and much more which I have  
 ' omitted) againft *Deifm*, in that very Treatife  
 ' of *W. P's.* to which, the Book out of which  
 ' *G. K.* by his Art of Counterfeit *Chymiftry*,  
 ' would Extract *Deifm*, was an Appendix; and  
 ' yet this was not the direft Subject of that  
 ' Treatife, but only toucht on occasionally, or  
 ' by the by: Should I gather up all Quotations  
 ' on this Argument out of our other Books;  
 ' fuch efpecially as have more directly handled  
 ' this Subject, I might therewith fill a large Vo-  
 ' lume: To prevent which, I refer the Reader  
 ' to my *Answer to G. Keith's First Narrative of*  
 ' *his Proceedings at Turners-Hall.* from P. 33. to  
 ' 63. where he may find this Cavil fully Confu-  
 ' ted. Which Answer to his first *Narrative*,  
 ' may ferve for an Answer to his other following  
 ' *Narratives* alfo; they for the moft part, being  
 ' but the Scraps of his First, heated again, and  
 ' ferved up afrefh with fome new Garnifh.

' It is obfervable that that Book, called *A*  
 ' *Discourfe of the general Rule of Faith and Life*,  
 ' was firft Printed (as *G. K.* in his Preface to  
 ' his *Deifm* takes Notice) in the Year 1673.  
 ' which is 27 Years ago, and about 20 Years be-  
 ' fore he quite left us; it appears he had Read  
 ' it in the firft Impreffion; for making as if  
 ' when



when he saw the last Impression, he did not 1699.  
know but that it was a New Book,— *So little*   
*had I Read or Considered the Contents of it.* Both  
Read it then, it seems he had, and Considered  
the Contents of it, and though here he would  
suggest he had but slightly Read it, yet he  
would not be taken for an heedless Reader, or  
a superficial Considerer of what he Reads.  
Now since he held the same Doctrine, with  
respect to the *General Rule of Faith and Life*,  
which is laid down by *W. Penn* in that Dis-  
course, during the time he was amongst us,  
and Professed himself one of us, as well after  
the Publishing of that Book, in the Year, 1673.  
as before; and did not only openly Defend  
and Maintain that Doctrine in publick Dispu-  
tations both in *England*, and in *Scotland*, after  
the Year, 1673. But, no longer ago than in  
the Year, 1692. Nineteen Years after that  
Book of *W. Penn's* (Called *A Discourse of the*  
*General Rule of Faith and Life*), was in Print,  
*G. K.* in his *Serious Appeal*, p. 7. says, *Accord-*  
*ing to the best Knowledge I have of the People*  
*called Quakers, and those most generally owned by*  
*them, as Preachers and Publishers of their Faith,*  
*of unquestioned esteem among them, and worthy of*  
*double Honour (as many such there are) I know*  
*none that are Guilty of any one such Heresies and*  
*Blasphemies as thou Accusest them: And I think I*  
*should know, and do know these called Quakers,*  
*better than C. Mather (against whom he then*  
*writ) or any of his Brethren; having been Con-*  
*versant with them, in Publick Meetings as well as*  
*in*

1699. *in Private Discourse, with the most Noted and*  
*Esteemed among them, for above 28 Years past ;*  
*and that in many places of the World, in Europe ;*  
*and for these divers Tears, in America. I say,*  
*all this Considered, how will G. Keith (upon*  
*the Charges he now makes against W. P.) ac-*  
*quit himself from having been a Profest Deist,*  
*all the while he was among the Quakers? Yet*  
*he himself well knows, that neither he, nor*  
*W. Penn, nor any of the Quakers ever were De-*  
*ists ; ever did Deny, Disown, or Disbelieve the*  
*Coming, Incarnation, Sufferings and Death of*  
*Christ, as Man outwardly in the Flesh, his*  
*Resurrection, Ascension and Mediatorship ;*  
*and he himself has undesignedly acquitted W.*  
*Penn from his present Charge of Deism, by a*  
*story he told in his first Narrative, P. 38. That*  
*upon some urging him to give an Instance of*  
*one English Quaker that he ever heard Pray to*  
*Christ : W. Penn being present, said, I am an*  
*English Man, and a Quaker, and I own I have*  
*oft Prayed to Christ Jesus ; even him that was Cru-*  
*cified. This, he says, was in the Year 1678.*  
*Which was Five Years after the Publishing of*  
*that Book, from which he attempts to prove*  
*him a Deist ; that is, a Denyer of the Man*  
*Christ Jesus, who was Crucified. Judge now,*  
*Reader, how Rank the Malice of G. Keith*  
*must needs be against W. Penn, and his Bre-*  
*thren the Quakers, who would choose to sub-*  
*ject himself with them, to the foul imputation*  
*of Deism (though in his own Conscience, he*  
*knows the Charge is false on them, as well as*  
*on*

‘ on himself) rather then not gratifie his Envy 1699.  
 ‘ and Revenge upon them: In this resembling  
 ‘ the Envious Man in the *Apologue*, who desired  
 ‘ that he might loose one of his Eyes, on Con-  
 ‘ dition his Neighbour might loose both his.

*Whence th’ Observation rose, a wicked Will  
 Would wound it self, to work another’s Ill.*

But before he had finished this Answer (tho’ he had gone about two thirds through it) Ben-<sup>1700.</sup> jamin Coole of Bristol, Published a Book there, Intituled, *Honesty the truest Policy, shewing the Sophistry, Envy and Perversion of George Keith, in his Three Books, (viz.) His Bristol Quakerism. Bristol Narrative, And his Deism.* On Perusal of which, viz. His Answer to G. Keith’s *Deism*, &c. T. E. writ the following Verses.

**I** N D E E D, Is then the Work by me begun,  
 And which I labour’d at with such good Will,  
 Already, by a readier Work-man, done:

*Who Nimbleness hath added to his Skill!  
 Well may it thrive, Successful may it prove,  
 Truth’s way to Clear, and Stumbling-Blocks Remove!*

*I never was Ambitious so appear*

*In Print, nor to my self Applause have sought;  
 With satisfaction therefore, I can bear*

*What thou design’st, another hand hath wrought:  
 This superceeds my Work. I’m glad to see  
 Such help come in, that there’s no need of me.*

*This is the third Time, I have thus been put  
 Besides my Work, which makes me think (my  
 Friend)* The

1700. *The Controversial Door to me is shut ;  
 And of my scribbling Service there's an End.  
 If so, Content, I can with pleasure see  
 The Work well done ; although not done by me.*

17th. 11th. Month, 1700.

T. E.

The three Times he was put besides his Work, of which (he says) this was the Third: The other Two (I suppose) were, his *Remarks on Gerrard Croese's History of the Quakers*. And his Answer to *The Snake in the Grass*, his Book called *Satan Disrob'd*. Both before mentioned.

However, this of B. C's. Anticipating his Answer to the *Deism*, he laid it by and never finished it ; thinking perhaps, the other (tho' far short of his) might suffice at present for an Answer thereto ; and so we were deprived of his Labour in this respect also: Which yet I hope, one time or other, may be Published for the Service of Truth ; which its pity the World should be deprived of.

1701. His next Service, upon a general Foot, which I find any Footsteps of, was on this Occasion. One *John Shockling* a Priest, of *Asb*, near *Sandwich*, in *Kent*, having got some of the *Snake's* Books, set up for an Opposer, or Disputant, about *Water-Baptism*, and sends a Paper to *John Love*, Called, *A Question upon those Words in Mathew 28. 19. Go ye therefore and Teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Whether the*

*the Apostles were not commanded by them to baptize with Water?* This Paper and Question our Friend T. E. answered in the 4th Month, 1701, very much to the purpose. To which the *Priest* being unwilling to take an Answer, and let it drop so, replying (I might say, to little purpose) T. E. writ a Rejoinder, in the 4th Month, 1702. Both which, Answer and Rejoinder, being very pertinent to the Purpose, and notable on that Subject, I should insert some part of it, but that it was only private, and never published (that I know of:) And therefore I would not begin to be the first Publisher thereof.

But now we come to his great Work, of the *History of the Old Testament*: which, at his Leisure, he had in Hand for some Years; and both he and we had this Advantage of his being put by his Work in answering Adversaries; particularly that of the Snake, and G. K's *Deism* (having now seem'd to have done with Controversie) that he had the more Time and Leisure to prosecute this more excellent Work; which having finished in 1704, he brought it up to London, to shew it to Friends, for their Perusal and Approbation. Which being done, it was published in Folio, the next Year, 1705, under the Title of *Sacred History; or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. Gathered out from the other Parts thereof, and digested (as near as well could be,) into due Method, with respect to Order of Time and Place: with some Observations here and there, tending to illustrate some Passages therein.* In his Preface to which,

1705. which, having mentioned the Praise of History  
 out of *Cicero*, viz. That it is *The Witneß of Times,*  
*the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, &c.*  
 which he thinks cannot be so well verified of  
 any particular History, as of that which, being  
 written by divinely-inspired Penmen, is con-  
 tained in the Books of the Old and New Te-  
 stament. Then speaking of the Motive or In-  
 ducement to the Undertaking, Two things (he  
 says) more especially led him to it: One, That  
 the Divine Providence, the Wisdom, Power,  
 Goodness and Favour of God, in ordering, dis-  
 posing, providing for, preserving, defending,  
 and wonderfully delivering his Servants and  
 People out of the greatest Straits, Difficulties,  
 Hardships, Dangers and Sufferings, being more  
 directly, and in a continued Series and Course  
 of Actions set before the Readers Eye, he might  
 be thereby the more stirred up, and engaged  
 to admire and magnifie, to love, reverence and  
 fear the Lord, and be the more careful not to  
 offend Him. The other Motive was, That all,  
 the Youth especially, of either Sex, under what  
 soever Religious Denomination they go, might  
 be furnished with such an Entertainment, to  
 spend (at least) their Leisure Hours upon, as  
 might yield them at once both Profit and De-  
 light. After which he proceeds to speak of the  
 Manner of Performance under Eight Heads:  
 The Substance of which are,

1. That in digesting the following History,  
 he hath not strictly tied himself to the Letter  
 and very Syllables of the Text; but with all  
 due

due Circumspection and Care to retain the Matter and Sense, hath sometimes varied the Expressions, &c. 2. Where he hath left the last *English Translation* of the BIBLE, he hath followed for the most part some other *English* or *Latin*; or the Judgment of some eminently Learned *Expositors*. 3. As to the Chronology (especially with respect to the Times of the Judges and Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*) he found so much Incertainty, and so little Certainty or Agreement amongst Interpreters about it, that he had a Mind to have left it out; but at the Desire of some he added it in the Margin; wherein for the most part he followed *R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testament*. 4. The few Helps (he says) he had, were chiefly from *Dr. Gell's Essay towards an Amendment of the last English Translation of the Bible*. *Hugh Broughton's Consent of Scripture*, *Godwin's Moses and Aaron*. *The Annotations of Tremelius and Junius*. And for Names of Persons and Places the *Tables of Robert F. Herry*. 5. The whole Work is divided into Three Parts, without any particular Regard had to the *Seven Periods of Time*, into which Chronologers and Historiographers, out of a Desire to reduce them to some sort of Proportion with the *Six Days Work* and *Seventh Days Rest*, in the first Week of the Creation, have generally divided the Ages of the World, from *Adam* until now. 6. Of these three Parts, the first reaches from the Creation to the Death of *Moses*, when the Children of *Israel*, being come to the Borders of the Promised Land

(the

1705. (the second Time) were ready to enter in; and contains the Remarkables in the Five Books of *Moses*, taking in *Job* between *Genesis* and *Exodus*. 7. The second Part beginning with the Book of *Josbua*, goes through that, and the Book of *Judges*, with the first Book of *Samuel*, and carries on the History from the Death of *Moses* to the Death of *Saul*, and the Account that was brought to *David* of it. In which are recounted the Transactions of chief Note under all the *Judges* and *Saul*, the first Anointed King of *Israel*. 8. The third Part (by much the largest) goes on with the second Book of *Samuel*, thro' the rest of the Canonical Scripture, sets forth the Reigns of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* throughout the *Jewish Monarchy*, with the most remarkable Acts and Occurrences therein, from *David* to the Return of the last *Babylonish Captivity*, and Re-building of the Temple, taking in the Prophets, as near as may be, in their several Times.

Then he gives Account who hath writ on this Subject; particularly a Treatise called *The General View of the Holy Scriptures*, supposed to be the Learned *Broughton's*; which *T. E.* commends as a useful Discourse in its kind. And of late Years *Chr. Ness* his *History and Mystery of the Old and New Testament*, (in four Volumes) A Book (says he) well fraught with Variety of useful Matter; but (wittily observes) the Mystery is not only interwoven with the History, but hath also so much overgrowu it, that the Reader who desires to peruse the History by it  
self,



self, will be at some Loss in that respect. And 1705. that which promises most to answer his End, he says, is, *R. Blome's History of the Old and New Testament*. A Work indeed (says he) not only instructive and delightful, but pompous and magnificent. A Character that may justly be apply'd to his own (except the Word *pompous*.) A Work indeed it is both pleasant and profitable; such judicious Observations, and witty (though grave) Turns on Passages and Things, as make it (as well as his other Writings) not only pleasant to read, but profitable to the Reader. A Work that will remain a Monument of his Worth and Ingenuity to Generations to come.

I would only add, That there is a Book of *Sulpitius Severus*, intituled *Sacred History*: but as that is in *Latin*, and far short of this of T. E's; so this cannot interfere with that, or be justly thought to be in Imitation of it.

About this time we entred into a more particular Correspondence by Letters on several Occasions; which we continued, at times, almost 'till his Death. So that I usually imparted to him the most remarkable Occurrences that passed here; and often advised with him in the most important Affairs, as I had Occasion: and he, in Requital, was always ready to Answer me, in a very obliging manner, in any thing I desired. And I must acknowledge, he was very helpful to me, by his Advice, in some Controversies I had with some late Adversaries; which I shall not now name, some of them being gone

1705. to their Graves; and his friendly Correspondence was always very acceptable, and instructive as well as grateful to me, in his agreeable Letters: of which I have many by me. Some of which he hath inserted in his *Decades*.

1706. The next Year, viz. 1706, there followed an Intercourse of some Letters between him and *William Sewell* of *Holland*, upon some particular Points; which led into a Friendly Correspondence between them, in some other Matters not unpleasant to read. Several of which Letters of *T. E's* are in his *Decades*; with many others to divers Persons, Friends and others, on various Subjects: Which, if ever it should be thought meet to publish them, or any of them, they would, I doubt not, be very instructive, as well as diverting.

His next publick Work was on this Occasion. About this time a Book was published by a Nameless Author, called *A Divine Treatise, written by way of Essay, (pretending) to demonstrate, according to the Mosaical Philosophy, Water-Baptism, Imposition of Hands, and the Commemoration of the Death and Passion of our ever blessed Lord and Saviour under the Species of Bread and Wine, &c.* This Treatise coming accidentally or providentially to our Friend *Thomas Ellwood's* Hands (as he says in his Preface) he observed that the Design of the Author therein was, To re-introduce and set up again those *Typical Representations* therein treated of, among those who have been led by the Lord out of the use thereof, into a more spiritual Dif-

Dispensation. And finding his Understanding 1706. in some measure Opened, to see the Danger and Mischief of that Undertaking, and his Spirit withal stirred in him against it, he felt a Concern upon his Mind to publish his *Observations* which he had made thereon, that others might the more clearly see and readily escape the Snare therein laid to entangle them, and draw them into Bondage to outward Ceremonies, and elementary Shadows again. This he did in a Book Printed 1707, intituled, *The glorious Brightness of the Gospel-Day, dispelling the Shadows of the Legal Dispensation, and whatsoever else of Humane Invention hath been super-added thereunto.* And hoped to make it evident, that they are not of the Nature of the Gospel Dispensation; nor have by any Divine Institution a continued Place or Service in the Church of Christ, without taking Notice who or what he was that writ it, ' Since the Author of the ' Treatise, (says T. E.) under my Observation, ' hath thought fit to conceal his Name, I shall ' not pry behind the Curtain which himself ' hath thereby drawn before him, or concern ' my self to enquire either who or what, he is, ' or has been: but without any regard to that, ' shall directly apply my self to give a plain ' Answer to the most material Parts of his Treatise: which he did to the purpose, in a close and nervous Answer; it being indeed an excellent Treatise, well worth the Perusal of every impartial Reader: To whom therefore I recommend it.

1707. And now I must say something of him under another Consideration as well as Writing. He had writ several Books against Tythes (as before hinted) to shew the Unsuitableness of them to the Gospel Dispensation (being *Jewish* in their Original, and *Popish* in their Revival) and that the Obligation of paying them was ceased under the Gospel, as to any *Divine Right* from Scripture. And now it fell to his Lot to suffer also in his turn for his Testimony against the Payment of them (*For to him it was given, in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe in him* (and bear witness to his Coming in the Flesh, and offering up himself, to put an End to the Law and Priesthood, Tythes and Offerings) *but also to suffer for his sake*) being prosecuted (with three Friends more, *viz. John Penington, Abraham Butterfield and William Catch*) in the *Exchequer* for Tythes, at the Suit of *Joshua Leaper*, Tythe-Farmer of *Amersham* in the County of *Bucks* under *Humphry Drake*, Clerk, Rector and Parson (so called) of the Rectory and Parish-Church of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham*, aforesaid. *Thomas Ellwood* (with the rest) were *Subpœna'd* to appear at *Westminster* in *Trinity-Term*, 1707. which they did by an Attourney to prevent being in Contempt of the Court, and took a Copy of the Complainants Bill. But for not Answering, Attachments were issued out in *Michaelmas Term*, to take them up: on which they were taken into Custody in the Eleventh Month, and afterwards an *Habeas Corpus* sent down to the Sheriff of *Bucks*, to bring them up to the *Exchequer*.

quer-Bar in *Trinity Term*, 1708, on which they 1708. came up. And to prevent the Plaintiffs going on to a Sequestration by default, they put in their Answers; setting forth the Value of the Tythes, according to the best of their Knowledge. Yet so vexatious was the Adversary, that he would not be satisfied with their Answer, but got a Commission of Enquiry to Examine Witnesses in the Country, as to the Value of the Tythes; which they did at *Amersham*, in the Tenth Month. The first Witness they examined, was one E——. G——. of the Parish of *Chesham*, Aged (as they say) Forty four Years, or thereabouts, who deposed, That he knew the Complainant and Defendants; and had known the Complainant about Sixty Years (which was about Sixteen Years before he was born.) Whereby we may Judge of the rest of his Evidence: The Charge of which Commission, and executing it, came to between Thirty and Forty Pounds, though some of it was abated on taxing the Cost; and yet they proved little, if any thing more than the Defendants had set down in their Answers; yet went on to a hearing on it, and obtain'd a Decree for the Tythes and Cost. For not performing which, Attachments were issued out a-fresh against them, in *Trinity-Term* 1709, to the Sheriff of *Hartfordshire* 1709. (T. E. A. B. and W. C. living in that County) but J. P. living in *Bucks*, was drop't, because the Attachments to the Sheriff of *Hartfordshire* would not reach him) and then a Proclamation; but the Sheriff living remote, did

1709. not endeavour to take them ; and the Prosecutor  
 seemed rather to aim at a *Sequestration* on their  
 Goods and Estates, than their Bodies : so that  
 seeing them resolved to go on, the Defendants,  
 to prevent it, offer'd to surrender themselves to  
 the Sheriff ; but he return'd them each, *Non est  
 Inventus*, and they got a Commission of *Rebellion*  
 antedated, and moved for a Serjeant at Arms,  
 the same Day, to run them to a *Sequestration* in  
 all haste, (*Leaper* being Sick and bad, like to die)  
 least he should not live till it was accomplish'd ;  
 but being so *illegal*, at least in point of time, for  
 that there ought to be Eight Days, between the  
*Test* and *Return of the Writ*, in 30 Miles off *Lon-  
 don*, and 14 beyond, on our appearing against  
 it, they could not obtain it till *Hillary Term*. In  
 which time *Leaper* recovered ; and one might  
 have hoped that he might have repented : but  
 instead thereof then got a *Sequestration* against  
 them and their Estates, both Real and Per-  
 sonal, for Tythes of *Thomas Ellwood* ; which  
 was but ————— 00 12 0  
 And *Abraham Butterfield's* ————— 15 15 6  
 And *William Catch's* ————— 16 07 4  
 And Cost as tax'd by the Deputy 71 17 8

In all for Tythes and Cost 104 12 6

For which they seized and took from *T. E.*  
 in Household-Goods, Bedding, Pewter, &c.  
 (throwing out the Meat to fake the Dishes)  
 to the Value of 19*l*. And a Horse he used to  
 ride on, which he would not have took Five

*Gueneas*

*Gueneas* for. In all about — 24 10 0 1709.  
Which they sold (working and  
hobling about the Horse, till they  
had almost spoil'd, him) all for  
about — — — — 14 15 0

And from *Abraham Butterfield*, Cat-  
tle, Corn, Hay, &c. to the value of 86 17 0  
which they Sold by their own  
Account for so much.

And from *William Catch* they  
took, by their Account, *Graff*, &c. 8 14 8  
And a Years Rent of his House,  
(deducting for Taxes, 11 shillings.) 2 09 0  
Being about 3 *l. per Annum*, which they seized,  
and kept till paid; which for Four Years, since  
the time called *Michaelmas* 1709, when they  
gave in their Account, came to 9 16 0

In all from *W. C.* about — 20 19 8

Seized & taken in the *whole* about 132 06 8  
For Tythes and Cost 104 12 6

More than demanded 027 14 2

And yet, what by Charge of *Sequestration* ma-  
king out, and selling the Corn; Selling under-  
hand, &c. they brought in the Defendants in  
Debt, and wanted more.

I have been the larger in this Account, to  
shew the Proceeding of the *Exchequer*, and the  
Fruit of Tythes, to ruin the QUEEN's Sub-  
jects for small Matters, when they might reco-

1709. ver by *Justices-Warrants* to the value of 10*l.*  
 with the hundredth part of the Charge.

Now we come to the second Volume of his Great Work, the *History of the New Testament*, which he had had in Hand at times, for the most Part since he finished his former; and when he had finished this, he brought it up to *London* for *Friends* Perusal and Approbation: where it was Read, and afterwards published this Year 1709, in Folio, under the same Title with the former, only as that was of the Old Testament, this was of the New, *viz. Sacred History, or the Historical Part of the Holy Scriptures of the New Testament, &c.* (as in the Title of the former) which as I gave some Account of, so it behoves I should of this. The former Treatise (says he in his Preface) having found a favourable Reception, he was thence encouraged to resume his Pen (which at the close of that Volume he had let fall) and proceed to the Methodizing of the Historical Part of the New Testament, in Two Parts. In the first Part whereof the Reader will find an Account of the Conception, Birth, Life, Travels, Doctrines, Discourses, Miracles, Sufferings, Death, Burial, Resurrection and Ascension of our Blessed Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST (the Author of the true Christian Religion) plainly, fairly and succinctly given; ushered in with a brief Account of the Conception, Birth, Manner of Life, Ministry and Death of his Forerunner, *John*, Surnamed the *Baptist*: And attended (in the Second



cond Part) with a like Historical Account of 1709. the Acts and Travels of the Apostles of our Lord, in the Propagation of his Blessed Gospel, after the Ascension of our blessed Saviour; so far, at least, as the Evangelist *Luke* in the Acts of the Apostles hath recorded, or the Clue or Thread of the Holy Text leads him: beyond which (he says) he was not willing to adventure, &c.

In this Undertaking, he says, he aimed at the same End as in the former, *viz.* That all the Youth especially, of either Sex, under whatsoever religious Denomination they go, might be further furnished, with such an Entertainment, to spend, at least, their Leisure Hours upon, as might yield them at once both Profit and Delight; and might be thereby drawn off from mis-spending their precious Time upon other, either hurtful, or (at best) unprofitable Subjects. Then he gives Account why he hath, with the Matter of Fact, delivered the Discourses, Speeches, Sermons and Doctrines delivered by our blessed Lord to his Disciples, &c. *viz.* That the Nature of the History required it, and that without it the Discourse would have been less profitable and pleasant to the Reader; and by that means less conducive to the End he proposed, which is to allure him to read the Holy Scriptures with Delight, &c. according to the Poet,

*He certainly doth hit the white,  
Who mingleth Profit with Delight.*

After

1709. After which he gives an Account of his going from Place to Place in the *Evangelists*, to reduce the several Parts and Passages of the History (in the first Part) to their due and Proper Times and Places, which he endeavoured to do, (tho' difficult) as near as he could. But the Second Part (the Acts) being all written by one Hand, the Method (he says) is more regular, and the Course of the History more clear. Yet the Apostolical Epistles, being without Date, are hardly, he conceives, to be reduced with indubitable Certainty to exact Order; which yet he hath endeavour'd to place them right, according to the best of his Understanding. Then owning the Helps he had in Compiling this History, had been chiefly from the *Criticks*, and *Cradock's Harmony of the four Evangelists*, and his *Apostolical History*, with a few Words of the Performance; which if not done as it should (nor as he would) yet as well as he could; And therefore, in all Humility, recommending and committing it to the Divine Disposal, he concludes his Preface.


Next to the Preface is an Introduction, concerning the Pen-men of the New Testament, and in what Language Originally written, and in what Order of Time; particularly of the four Evangelists, *Matthew, Mark, Luke* and *John*, what they were, the time of their Writing, and some particular Circumstances concerning them and their Ends; well worth the Readers Perusal, for the better understanding the History, both of the Evangelists and Apostles. So proceeds to the

the History; which he deduces from the *Promised Seed* after the Fall, for Man's Restoration, which the Prophets foretold the Coming of, and which he pleasantly draws out at large in Order of Time, and explains with the like judicious Observations, as in the former, taking in the Epistles of St. Paul, &c. (in the second Part) in their proper Places (as near as could be) and gives an Account of them, the Occasion why, the manner how, and time when they were written: ending with the Revelations, which he renders as a Revelation unrevealed; with some Brief Notes on it. The whole, as I said of the former, being both pleasant and profitable. Both which will remain a lasting Monument of him in time to come.

This Year (1710.) our Friend *Oliver Sansom*, 1710. formerly of *Faringdon*, since of *Abington* in *Berkshire* (who had long War with the Priests about Tythes) dying in the 2d Month, and leaving behind him *An Account of some Remarkable Passages of his Life*, which he Communicated (in his Life time) to our Friend T. Ellwood to peruse, who being always ready to be helpful and serviceable to all, especially his Friends, he Transcribed the same, and fitted it for the Press: which was Printed this Year; to which T. E. prefixed a Testimony concerning him, pertinent to the Occasion.

There is one Book more of his, which he published in his Life-time; which, it seems, he had had by him, for the most part, a long time, and after he had finished his *Sacred History of the New Testament*,

1710. *Testament*, he took in hand to finish, and completed. And that is *The Life of DAVID in Verse*; first begun (for his own Diversion, not then thinking of the Press) and carried on, by degrees, to the End of the Third Book, in the Year 1688. (as hinted before in that Year) when the *Prince of Orange* Landing, and the Nation being in Arms; the Noise of *Guns*, and Sounds of *Drums* and *Trumpets* so affrighted, and disturbed his peaceful Muse (as he says in his Preface) that both she, for a while, forsook him, and he thereupon the Work (for above Twenty Years :) save that on a Review, observing how abruptly *David* was brought in, he added the first Chapter (of the first Book) to introduce his Hero from the Beginning of his Story. Where it rested again, without any Prospect of its ever
1711. going further, until the last Winter; (1711.) When having (as he says) less Health and more Leisure, than at sometimes before, he took it up for an Entertainment, to make some uneasy Hours pass somewhat less uneasily over. And after he had read it through, considering that if, after his Death, it should be found among his Papers and committed to the Press, it would be but an imperfect Piece; he found an Inclination to carry on the Story to the End of *David's* Life, (I wish he had done so by his own) And giving a kind Invitation to his gentle Muse to return (which by some short Visits on particular Occasions, in the Interval, had given him some Ground to hope, she had not quite forsook him) he entred again upon the Subject, where he had left

left off; and by degrees went through it, till he <sup>1711.</sup> had brought his *warlike Hero* to his *peaceful*  *Grave*.

After it was finished, deliberating, whether to publish it himself, or leave it, as a *Posthume*, to be published by some kind Hand after his Death, for some Reasons; particularly, That if any should *Carp* at it, he might be capable to answer for himself, he thought best to publish it in his Life-time; and accordingly brought it up with him, when he came to the *Yearly-Meeting* (1712.) but not having then an Opportunity to <sup>1712.</sup> have it Read, he came up again with it some time after (which I think was the last time he was at *London*) and after Reading, committed it to the Press this Year, under the Title of *DAVIDEIS. The Life of David King of Israel. A Sacred Poem: in five Books, in Octavo.* Tho', as he observes, *Abraham Cowley* writ a Poem called *Dauides*, he had not read it till after he had finished his; and besides, their different way of Writing, *A. C's* was but of the Troubles of *David* in his Youth, and that not half finished. And that he had the same Aim in this, as in that of his *Sacred History* afore said. Which Book begins thus.

*I Sing the Life of David, Israel's King,  
Assist, thou sacred Pow'r who did'st him bring  
From the Sheepfold, and set him on the Throne,  
Thee I invoke, on thee rely alone.*

*Breath on my Muse; and fill her slender Quill.  
With thy Refreshing Dews from Hermon-Hill:*

*That*

1712. *That what ſhe Sings may turn unto thy Praise,  
And to thy Name may laſting Trophies Raiſe.*

But I would not Anticipate the Reader, but leave him to Read and Judge for himſelf, as it deſerves.

I ſhall Conclude his Works and Writings, with a Copy of Verſes he formerly Writ; which, though out of Courſe as to Time, is ſo well worth the Inſerting, that I hope they will make amends for being miſ-placed, viz.

**O** *That mine Eye might cloſed be,  
To what becomes me not to ſee!  
That Deafneſſ might poſſeſs mine Ear,  
To what concerns me not to hear!  
That Truth my Tongue might always ty  
From ever ſpeaking Fooliſhly!  
That no vain Thought might ever reſt,  
Or be conceived in my Breſt!  
That, by each Word, each Deed, each Thought,  
Glory may to my God be brought!  
But what are Wiſhes! Lord, mine Eye  
On thee is fixt; to thee I Cry:  
O purge out all my Droſs, my Tin:  
Make me more white than Snow, within!  
Waſh Lord, and purifie my Heart,  
And make it clean in every part:  
And when 'tis clean, Lord keep it too:  
For that is more than I can do.*

T. E.

Thus having gone through his Printed Books and Papers, which I have endeavoured to give a plain

a plain and succinct Account of, and of him out <sup>1712.</sup> of them, as far as I could, and with as much Brevity as well might be: I shall now speak somewhat of him in his Private Capacity, and other Services and Station in the Church, with his Death and Character; and so Conclude the Whole.

He lived many Years (if not most of his Time, especially after he was Married) at *Hunger-Hill*, in the Parish of *Agmondesham*, alias, *Amersham*, in *Buckinghamshire* (though his House stood in *Hartfordshire*, as aforesaid) where the Monthly Meetings of Men and Women were constantly kept, for that part of the County of *Bucks*: Wherein he was very Serviceable, in Writing, Advising, and Exhorting to keep all things Well, and in good Order, according to Truth, and the Testimony thereof; and had a Peculiar Gift for Government in the Church, and ordering things in Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, and used to come up constantly to the Yearly-Meeting at *London*, and was very Serviceable therein; not only by his Grave Counsel and Advice; but also, in Reading and Writing on occasion, especially in difficult Matters. He had a singular Talent in Indicting and Composing of things, Epistles and Papers beyond many; so that I must needs say, he was an Ornament to the Meeting, and will be much missed therein, and many other ways. His Wife Died about Five Years before him, being a Solid Weighty Woman, who had a Publick Testi-

1712. Testimony for the Lord and his Truth, in Meetings; and therefore the greater Loss to him and Friends: And for himself, he lived a Private Retired Life, not concerning himself with much Business in the World; but gave himself much to Reading and Writing, and lived in good Repute among Friends, and all sorts of People, as far as ever I heard of, to a pretty good Age; but bore his Age very well, being of a Regular Life, and Healthy Constitution; only in his latter Years, was somewhat troubled at times with an *Asthma*: And at last he was taken ill of a *Palsie*,
1713. the 23d Day of the 2d Month, 1713. which he bore with great Patience and Resignation; an Account of. which, and his Dying Words, I leave to them who were with him in the time of his Sickness, the 8th day of which, he departed this Life, the 1st of the 3d Month, in the 74th Year of his Age: *Having served his Generation according to the Will of God, he fell a Sleep*; and was Honourably Buried the 2d Day following, being the 4th of the 3d Month, at *Jordans*: Being accompanied from his own House by a great many Friends and others, to the Meeting-House there (the Meeting he belong'd to) and Interr'd in the Burying-Ground belonging thereto, where was a very large Meeting, and great Appearance of Friends and others, several Publick Friends being there from *London*, and other Parts; and divers Living Testimonies born, to the Truth he Lived and Died in, in a Living Remembrance of him, and his Services in the Church. A Man of a Comely Aspect, of a Free



Free and Generous Disposition, of a Courteous 1713.  
and Affable Temper, and Pleasant Conversa-  
tion; a Gentleman Born and Bred, a Scholar, a  
True Christian, an Eminent Author, a Good  
Neighbour, and Kind Friend; whose Loss is  
much Lamented, and will be much missed at  
Home and Abroad. The Lord (if it be his  
Will) Raise up many more such Pillars, Elders  
and Overseers of his *Flock* and *Family* (as Watch-  
men upon *Sion's* Walls) for his Honour, and  
the benefit of his Church and People, saith my  
Soul, *Amen*.

London the 30th of the  
9th Month, 1713.

J. W.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE the Writing of the foregoing *Sup-  
plement*, I have Understood, that our  
Friend *Thomas Ellwood*, after he had finished  
and Published his *Davidis*, signified, *That he  
had but one thing more that lay upon his Mind, and  
that was, to add something to his Journal, or Ac-  
count of his Life; which was chiefly to give an Ac-  
count of his Books and Writings: Which, as it  
shews he had not done it, or finished it before,  
and 'tis to be doubted he did not after (not Li-  
ving long after that) and so no more to be ex-  
pected (more's the Pity) from his own Hand.*  
So it shews what his design was, as to what he

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intended

intended to have added to it; had he Lived to perform it, or had not Death prevented him. So that the foresaid *Supplement* seems (in some sort at least) to Answer his own Intention (though far short, as was said, of what his own Hand could have done) yet so far as it does any way answer his Mind, I am therein Glad that I have done any service to his Memory, or the Truth in that respect; having endeavoured to represent things according to his own Mind, and to speak of him and things as probably he would have done if he had been Living, and hope the Reader will accept it the better. To whom therefore I recommend it; as giving at least, a fair Character of the Books he Writ, and Controversies he Managed, both Published and Unpublished; which I hope will be no Disservice (but Service) to the *Truth*, as it is intended in the Fear of God: To whose Honour, and the Service of his *Truth*, I desire, with great Sincerity, to Dedicate the remainder of my Days, and Rest,

A Friend to all Men.

J. W.

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## A Catalogue of his Printed Books before mentioned.

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| 2. <i>A fresh Pursuit, &amp;c.</i> Broadside, 1674.                                     | 315      |
| 3. <i>Forgery no Christianity</i> , against T. P. 8o. 9 sh.                             | 316      |
| 4. <i>Truth prevailing and detelling Er.</i> 8o. 1676, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ .               | 322, 344 |
| 5. <i>The Foundation of Tythes shaken.</i> 8o. 1678, 33.                                | 323, 346 |
| 6. <i>An Antidote against the Infection of W. Rogers's Book.</i> 4to. 1682. 31. Sheets. | 327, 352 |
| 7. <i>A Caution to Constables, &amp;c.</i> 4to. 1683, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .                 | 327, 353 |
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| 17. <i>An Epistle to Friends; briefly commemorating, &amp;c.</i> 8to. 1694.             | 5. 398   |
| 18. <i>A further discovery of the Spirit of Contention.</i> 8o. ditto                   | 8. 405   |
| 19. <i>Truth defended, and the Friends thereof cleared, &amp;c.</i> 8o. 1695.           | 11. 408  |
| 20. <i>An Answer to G. Keith's Narrat.</i> 8o. 1696. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$                   | 416      |
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| 22. <i>Sacred History of the Old Testam.</i> fol. 1705, 150.                            | 445      |
| 23. <i>The Glorious Brightness of the Gospel-Day.</i> 4to. 1707.                        | 12. 451  |
| 24. <i>Sacred History of the New Testa.</i> fol. 1709. 111.                             | 456      |
| 25. <i>Davidis. The Life of David.</i> 8o. 1712. 20 $\frac{1}{2}$                       | 386, 461 |
| About 464 Sheets.                                                                       |          |

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## A List of the MANUSCRIPTS he left behind him.

1. **A**N *Answer to a Paper directed to the Members of the Society of Quakers, especially to those that frequent the Town of Feverham (in Kent) 1672. To which the Priest replying, T. Ellwood writ a Rejoinder, very notable, and worth the Publishing. The whole about 15 Sheets, in 1672, or 1673.*
  2. *His Reply, or Rejoinder to the Priests second Book, called The Right of Tythes Re-asserted, 46 Sheets. About 1681.*
  3. *Some Remarks on Gerard Croeses General History of the Quakers, in Latin, 3 or 4 Sheets. About 1695, or 1696.*
  4. *A Rejoinder to the Snake in the Grass, his Book called Satan disrob'd, in reply to T. E's Answer to G. Keith's Narrative. 27 Sheets. 1696.*
  5. *Some Instructions for Children. About 2 Sheets.*
  6. *An Answer to G. Keith's Deism of W. Penn and his Brethren. 37 Sheets. 1700.*
  7. *An Answer to John Shockling Priest of Ash near Sandwich in Kent, concerning Baptism, 1701, and a Rejoinder to his Reply, 1702. both about 3 sh.*
  8. *The Tythe Dialogue improved, for the better explaining the present State of Tythes, by the same Method of a Dialogue, supposed to be holden between a Tytheman and a Quaker. 6 Sheets. 1707.*
  9. *A Volume of Miscellany Poems, about 20 Sheets.*
  10. *Several Decades of Letters to particular Persons; about 35 Sheets.*
  11. *To Robert Snow, in Answer to his Objections.*
  12. *An Account of Tythes in general.*
- ✧ The two last mentioned Papers, because we could not fix their Dates, are here added at the End. And are as follow :

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A N  
**A N S W E R**  
 To Some  
**OBJECTIONS**  
 O F A  
*Moderate ENQUIRER.*

*Robert Snow,*

**W**E received a Paper subscribed by thee, and directed to the Church or People of God called *Quakers*, &c. Which Paper contains some *Objections*, which (thou sayst) thou hast heard spoken against us, and wherein thou desirest to be satisfied. To which we say, It is no strange Thing to us to be spoken against by the World's Teachers, that being no more than beset the People of God, in the First breaking forth of Christianity in the World, Of whom it was said, *Acts 28. 22. As concerning this Self, we know that every where it is spoken against.* But we are willing to endeavour thy Satisfaction, by Answering the *Objections*.

The First is, *You own no Day, either the First or Last, as a Sabbath to the Gentiles.*

*Answer.* The Sabbath (which was the seventh or last Day of the Week) was given to the *Jews*, *Ex. 16. 29. Rom. 9. 4.* Not to the *Gentiles*, *Psal. 147. 19, 20. Rom. 3. 19.* and was to last (as other typical Ordinances

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dinances were) *untill the time of Reformation, Heb. 9.*  
*10. till the Seed should come, Gal. 3. 19. which was Christ.*  
*ver. 16. the Lord of the Sabbath, Mat. 12. 8. who, in the*  
*Fulness of time, did blot out the Hand writing of Ordina-*  
*nces, &c. and took it out of the way, nailing it to his*  
*Cross, Col. 2. 14. From whence the Apostle thus in-*  
*fers, Let no man therefore judge you (the Saints and*  
*faithful Brethren, Col. 1. 2.) in Meat or in Drink, or in*  
*respect of an Holy Day, or of the New Moon or of the*  
*Sabbath Days, Col. 2. 16. which, says he, are a Shadow*  
*of things to come, but the Body is of Christ. ver. 17.*  
*Thus was that Sabbath, which was given by God, to*  
*his People the Jews, ended and taken away by Christ,*  
*before the Gentiles were called to be his People. And*  
*as for the First Day of the Week, we do not read in*  
*the Holy Scriptures, that it is called the Sabbath-*  
*Day, or commanded to be kept and observed for a*  
*Sabbath, as the Seventh Day had been. But, on the*  
*contrary, we find the Apostle Paul, writing to the*  
*Romans; who were Gentiles (though not without some*  
*mixture of believing Jews amongst them, as appears,*  
*Acts 18. 2.) says, One Man esteems one Day above an-*  
*other (there was the believing Jew) Another esteem-*  
*eth every Day alike (there was the believing Gentile.)*  
*Well, what then? Doth he commend the Former of*  
*these, and condemn the latter? No; but he says, Let*  
*every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind, Rom.*  
*14. 5. And in the 4th, 10th, and 13th verses dissuades*  
*them from judging one another about the Observing,*  
*or not observing a Day, as well as about the Eating,*  
*or not eating of Meats; and seems to lay no more*  
*Stress upon the one, than the other. And if the Drift*  
*of the Apostle's discourse there be heedfully minded,*  
*it will appear that, as he sets him who believed he*  
*might eat all Things, with him that esteemed every*  
*Day a like; and him that esteemed one Day above*  
*another, with him that eat Herbs: So he imputes the*  
*Weakness to the Latter, ver. 2. and sets himself on*  
 the

the other side, saying, *We then that are strong ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak*, Chap. 15. 1. And he tells the *Galatians* (which though a *Gentile Church*, had also *Jewish Believers* in it) *I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you Labour in vain*, Gal. 4. 11. Why so? *To observe Days, and Months, and Times, and Tears*, says he, ver. 10. So Jealous was the Apostle, lest any that had been gathered from outward Observations, and from a shadowy State, should imbondage themselves again in Shadows, and fall short of enjoying the Substance, which is the true Gospel Rest that remains to the People of God, Heb. 4. 9. Which in the next Verse is described to be, *Their Ceasing from their own Works, as God did from His. Into which Rest we* (saith the Apostle) *that have believed, do enter*, ver. 3. And in the 11. Verse he presses others to labour to enter into that Rest, Now when the Apostle says, *There remains a Rest*, it plainly implies that the former Rest, the outward Sabbatical Rest did not remain, but was passed away and gone. Nor is it reasonable to suppose, that the Rest here mentioned, which is said to *Remain to the People of God*, was an outward bodily Resting, from outward bodily Labour, on whatsoever Day; both, as that would be but to change one Type or Figure for another; And, as the entering into this Rest is set forth in the Text, as a Matter of Labour and Difficulty, ver. 11. as it is indeed, yet blessed be the Lord, he hath enabled some, that have believed in his Name, and subjected to his Power, to enter into this Rest, in this his Day; and many are pressing after it, as the true abiding Gospel-Rest, which the Legal Sabbath was but a Type or Shadow of.

The 2d Objection is, *You deny the Scriptures to be any Rule for Man or Woman to walk by, so as to direct them to the saving of their Souls.*

*Answer.* In this we are misrepresented. We sincerely own, love and regard the Holy Scriptures, believing

believing with the Apostle, that *they were given by Inspiration of God, and are profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness, that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works, 2 Tim. 3. 16, 17. and that they are able to make wise unto Salvation, through Faith that is in Christ Jesus, ver. 15.* And great benefit and delight we find in them, reading them in the openings of that Divine Spirit, by which they were given forth. We are so far from denying them to be ~~any~~ Rule, &c. that we acknowledge them to contain ~~many~~ excellent Rules, Precepts, Doctrines and Instructions, directing Man and Woman how to walk, that they may obtain the Salvation of their Souls. Yet we do not say (as some have done) that the Scriptures are the *only* Rule, or the *chief* and *principal* Rule: because we dare not give the Honour and Office of the Holy Spirit unto the Scriptures; For the Scriptures themselves declare, *That it is the Office of the Holy Spirit to guide Believers into all Truth, John. 16. 13.* And indeed, the true Meaning and Benefit of the Scriptures themselves is not attained to in the Reading of them, unless the Spirit that gave them forth do open them, and unseal the Mysteries contained in them. So that the Holy Spirit is greater than the Scriptures, and therefore we cannot but give the chief Place unto him. For he is able to manifest himself unto Man, and to lead Man into the Way of Salvation, either with and by the Scriptures, or without them, as he pleases: But the Scriptures cannot do that without the Operation of the Holy Spirit. Justly therefore do we affirm the Spirit of God, to be the *Chief* Rule, and yet acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be a true Rule, and proper Instrument in the Hand of the Spirit, to direct Men and Women how they ought to walk, to obtain Salvation to their Souls, as the Spirit of the Lord makes use of the Scriptures to that End.

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The 3d OBJECTION is, *Tou deny the Resurrection of this mortal Body, that this Mortal shall not put on Immortality.*

*Answer.* In this also we are misrepresented: We do not deny, but own the Resurrection of the Dead; Believing, with the Apostle, that *This Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and this Mortal shall put on Immortality*, 1 Cor. 15. 54. And indeed, if we did not believe this, we might well say (as he did) *If in this Life only we have Hope in Christ, we were of all Men most miserable*, ver. 19. And, *Why stand we in jeopardy every Hour*, ver. 30. But the Lord knows, and we have openly and sincerely declared, that we believe and own the Resurrection of the Dead, according as the Holy Scriptures testify concerning it, Which say, *Thou sowest not that Body that shall be, but bare Grain &c. But God giveth it a Body as it hath pleased him, and to every Seed his own Body*, ver. 37, 38. *It is sown a natural Body; it is raised a Spiritual Body*, ver. 44. the reason of which follows ver. 50. namely, *That Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption inherit Incorruption.* And as we firmly believe this; So we take this to be sufficient, without being so curiously inquisitive as he, who would needs ask, *How are the Dead raised up? and with what Body do they come?* ver. 35. and was called Fool for his Pains, ver. 36.

The 4th OBJECTION is, *Tou suffer Women to be your Teachers, that were forbid by the Apostle, for he says, that they should keep silence.*

*Answer.* The Jews of old had a strong Persuasion (grounded upon some misunderstood Places of Scripture) that the Salvation of God was confined to them, and belonged not at all to the Gentiles. And this Opinion had prevailed so far upon them, that even those of them that received the Gospel could not easily shake it off. In so much that, after Peter had been with Cornelius the Centurion, and was come

back again to *Jerusalem*, he was called before the Church for it, *they that were of the Circumcision contending with him, and saying, Thou went'st in to Men uncircumcised, and did'st eat with them*, *Act. 11. 2, 3.* To whom, having related the Occasion and Particulars of that Matter, he concludes his Defence thus, *For as much then as God gave them the like Gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I, that I could withstand God?* ver. 17. And in the next verse it follows, *when they heard these Things they held their Peace, and glorified God, &c.* This Answer, which the Apostle gave in that Case, may be suitable ( we think ) for us to give in this Case, to such as ( from some misunderstood Places of Scripture ) are offended at us for Suffering Women to speak in our Assemblies, *viz.* For as much as God hath given them the like Gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what are we that we should withstand God? God, by his Servant *Joel*, in the Time of the Law, had made this Promise, with Relation to the Times of the Gospel, *viz.* *And it shall come to pass afterwards ( or in the last Days, as Peter repeats it, Act. 2. 17 ) that I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh; and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophecy, your old Men shall dream Dreams, your young Men shall see Visions: And also upon the Servants and upon the Handmaids in those Days will I pour out my Spirit, Joel 2. 28, 29.* ( And they shall prophecy, adds *Peter*, *Act. 2. 18.* ) Here was no Distinction of Sex made; But this Promise of pouring out the Spirit, and of prophesying thereby, is extended as expressly and fully to the Daughters as to the Sons, to the Handmaids as to the Servants. And this the Apostle *Peter* doth expressly apply to that great pouring forth of the Spirit upon the Church, at the Pentecost immediately after Christ's Ascension, saying, *This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel*, *Acts 2. 16.* Now at that great and eminent

ment pouring forth of the Spirit it appears the Women were not excluded: For when, after the Ascension, the Apostles and Disciples were returned from Mount Olivet to Jerusalem, it is said, *These all continued with one accord in Prayer and Supplication with the Women, and Mary the Mother of Jesus, &c. Acts 1. 14. The Number of the Names together being about an Hundred and Twenty, ver. 15. And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one Place, Chap. 2. 1. And in Ver. 3. it is said, The cloven Tongues sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other Tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance, ver. 4.* Here was no Distinction made, no shutting out the Women; but all were together, all received the Gift of the Spirit; and began to *speak with other Tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.* Nor was it thus only at that time, and upon that extraordinary Occasion, but continued in the Church afterwards. For we read *that Philip the Evangelist had four Daughters that did prophesie, Acts 21. 8, 9. Rhebe, a Woman, is recommended by the Apostle Paul to the Church at Rome, not only as a Sister, but as a Servant of the Church, Rom. 16. 1. Priscilla, a Woman, is called by the same Apostle, My Helper (or Fellow Labourer) in Christ Jesus, ver. 3. Tryphena and Tryphosa, two Godly Women, are saluted by him as Labourers in the Lord. And of the beloved Persis, another holy Woman, he testifies, that she laboured much in the Lord, ver. 12. The same Apostle, in his Epistle to the Philippians, says, I entreat thee also, true Toke Fellow, help those Women which laboured with me in the Gospel, Phil. 4. 3. Which is the Phrase by which the Apostle doth frequently express his own Ministry; and which he particularly applies to Timothy, whom he calls Our Brother and Minister of God, and our Fellow Labourer in the Gospel of Christ, 1 Thel. 3. 2. Which is a clear Evi-*

dence that those Women, that had received the Gift of Prophecy, did minister therein to the Edification of the Church, as well as the Men. Nay the Apostle Paul, in that very Epistle, wherein he is thought by some to discountenance *Womens Preaching*, doth give Directions for the Manner of their *Preaching* or *Propheying*, viz. *That they should do it with their Heads covered*. For having first said, *Every Man praying or propheying, having his Head covered, dishonoureth his Head*, 1 Cor. 11. 4. He adds, *But every Woman that Prayeth or Propheyyeth with her Head uncovered dishonoureth her Head*, ver. 5. This puts it out of doubt, that *Womens Praying* and *Propheying* in the Church, was at that Time both lawful and usual, as well as Mens.

Now, that by *Propheying* here is meant *Preaching* (not barely foretelling Things to come) may not only be inferred from the use of the same Word in the verse foregoing, where, being spoken of Men, it is granted on all Hands to intend *Preaching* (and from thence the general practice of *Mens Preaching uncovered* is defended) but may also fairly be concluded, from the explanation the Apostle gives of it, in Chap. 14. ver. 31. where he tells that Church in general, *We may all Prophecy one by one that all may learn*; Which manifests that by *Propheying* he intended *Preaching* or *Teaching*, that being the proper way or means of *Learning*. And in the Beginning of that Chapter, where he prefers *Propheying* before *Speaking with Tongues*, ver. 1. and 5. he says, *He that Propheyyeth, Speaketh unto Men, to Edification, and Exhortation, and Comfort*, ver. 3. And, *He that Propheyyeth, Edifieth the Church*, ver. 4. which plainly shew that by *Propheying* he meant *Preaching* or *Teaching*, that being the proper means or way of Edifying. And therefore, seeing he not only allowed Women to *Prophecy*, but directed and advised them how they should perform it, Chap. 11. 5. and that in  
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this Place *Propheſying* and *Preaching* appear to be one and the ſame Thing, it is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe he denied them the Liberty of *Preaching*, being gifted and called thereunto. As for thoſe Words of his, 1 Cor. 14. 34. *Let your Women keep ſilence in the Churches: for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak; but to be under Obedience, as alſo ſaith the Law.* Obſerve firſt, that thoſe Words, [*as alſo ſaith the Law*] relate only to the Womens being under *Obedience*, not to their keeping *ſilence* in the Church: For that was never enjoyned them in the Law, but they were permitted to ſpeak in the Congregation; And both *Miriam*, who was a Prophetess, did ſing the Triumphs of the Lord, in the publick Congregation, *Ex.* 15. 20. 21. And *Deborah*, who was a Prophetess, did recount the noble Acts of the Lord, and celebrate his Praises in a Triumphant Song, *Judges* 5. Read alſo what *Hanna* ſpoke in the Houſe of the Lord in *Shiloh*, 1 *Sam.* 2. And *Anna*, who was a Prophetess, did not only give thanks unto the Lord, but ſpoke of Chriſt to all them that looked for Redemption in *Jeruſalem*, *Luke* 2. 38. This was direct *Preaching*, and that *in the Temple*. So that the Women were not enjoyned *ſilence* under the Law, but were permitted to *Speak*. In the next Place; conſider what Speaking it was that was forbidden by the Apoſtle in that Place, 1 Cor. 14. 34. which from his following Words will appear to be, not a Speaking of the Words of Life and Salvation, not a Speaking as the Spirit of God gives utterance; but ſpeaking diſorderly, asking Queſtions unſeaſonably, and out of place; not ſpeaking for the Edification of Others, but ſpeaking for their own Information only: for he immediatly adds, *If they will learn any Thing, let them ask their Husbands at home*, ver. 35. Theſe Words [*learn and ask*] plainly ſhew, that the Speaking here condemned was not a Speaking the *Doctrines* of the Goſpel for the Edification of the Church,

Church, but *asking Questions* for their own Satisfaction, which they might have done at home, but not there: therefore he adds, *For it is a Shame for Women to speak in the Church*. And so indeed it was in such a disorderly manner as they spake, to interrogate or Catechise either the Minister, or their Husbands, openly in the Church, to ask the Meaning of this, or call for an Explanation of that, which might look like a throwing off their Obedience to their Husbands, and must needs occasion Disorders and Confusion in the Assembly, which we may perceive was the thing that troubled the Apostle, and which he laboured to reform: for he said before, *God is not the Author of Confusion, but of Peace*, ver. 33: and he concludes the Chapter with this Admonition. *Let all things be done decently and in order*: So that it was the disorderly Practice of some Women in that Church which he reproves, who, it seems, when any Thing was spoken which they did not understand, would interpose, and *ask Questions* for Information sake, which was uncomely in them, offensive and troublesome to the Congregation. This sort of *Speaking* was not permitted them, but was a Shame to them, and from which they ought to have kept silence *in the Church*; and if *they will learn any thing*, says he, *let them ask their Husbands at home*: Of like import are those other Words of the same Apostle to *Timothy*, and probably on the same Occasion. *Let the Woman, says he, learn in silence with all Subjection. But I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the Man, but to be in silence*, 1 Tim. 2. 11, 12. For hence it appears still, that the Occasion they took of speaking, was under pretence of *learning*, wherein they took an undue Liberty to *ask Questions*, as if they would catechize or teach their Husbands. But though the Apostle would not suffer such sort of Speaking in the Church, as might give Occasion to any to think that the Women did cast off the Obedience

dience they owed, and did usurp Authority over their Husbands; nor after such a Manner, as might breed Confusion in the Congregation, for he was so watchful against that, that he enjoins the Man to be silent in that Case, as well as the Woman. *If any Man, says he, speaks in an unknown Tongue,— let one interpret: But if there be no Interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church,* 1 Cor. 14. 27, 28. Yet we have before shewed, that he allowed of *Women Prophecy- ing*, and that by *Prophecy- ing* he meant *Preaching*. We have also given many Instances of Women that laboured in the Work of the Gospel in that Day; and could, from a living and sure Experience, multiply instances of many Women in this Day, whom the Lord hath committed the Word of Life and Reconciliation unto, and who, in the quickning Power and Virtue thereof, have sounded forth the same, to the awakening of many that were asleep in Sin, and turning of many *from darkness to Light*, and from the *Power of Satan to God*, who are now become living Seals of their Ministry. Neither would this seem so strange as it doth to some; did they duly consider. That *God is no Respector of Persons*. But that, as, in the *old Creation*, Male and Female were Created in the Image of God: So, in the *new Creation*, Male and Female are all one in Christ Jesus, Gal. 3. 28. But, as they that contended with *Peter*, for conversing with the *Gentiles*, when they had heard his Defence, held their Peace, and glorified God, saying, *Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted Repentance unto Life,* Acts 11. 18. So, we hope, they that have taken Offence at us, for suffering Women to speak in the Church, when they shall have duly and impartially weighed what is herein offered for their Satisfaction, will hold their Peace (as to any Opposition thereunto) and Glorifie God, saying, *Then hath God committed unto Women also the Word of Reconciliation.*

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The fifth Objection is, *You are a People that have gained Health to your Immortal Souls, and are sure of Heaven, when the Scriptures say, that the Righteous Man falls seven times a Day; and the Apostle Paul said that Sin was still actually in him.*

*Answer.* We do not desire to boast of any Attainments. Yet we cannot but confess, to the Glory of God, and the Praise of his Holy Name, that His saving Health hath appeared in this his Day, and we (through his Mercy) have tasted of it. Christ the Saviour, is manifested in Spirit, and we (through Grace) have felt the healing Virtue of his Divine Life and Power. Through the tender Mercy of our God, the Day-spring from on high hath visited us, and hath given Light to us that sate in Darkness and in the Shadow of Death, and hath guided our Feet into the way of Peace, and hath helped us to make our Calling and Election sure. As for the Scripture thou mentionest, we do not find that the Scripture saith, *The Righteous Man falls seven times a Day*; but in Prov. 24. 16. we find it thus written, *For a Just Man falleth seven times, and riseth up again; but the Wicked shall fall into Mischief.* And as the Verse before shews the Occasion of these Words, where it is said, *Lay not wait, O wicked Man, against the Dwelling of the Righteous: spoil not his resting place.* So the latter Part of this 16th Verse [*but the wicked shall fall into Mischief*] implies, that the just Man doth not fall, as the wicked Man does, *into Mischief.* And seeing all Sin is Mischief, it seems as if the Fall here spoken of the just Man, were not a *falling into Sin*, but into some outward Calamity or Exercise. However the Place speaks nothing of *daily or continual falling.* Nor do we remember that Paul doth use that very Expression concerning himself, *viz. That Sin was still actually in him*; though we know that he doth, in divers places, run through, as it were, and open the various States and Travels of  
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of the Soul; in some of which he cried out, *O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver, &c!* But he rested not there, but quickly breaks forth into a Rejoycing, and cries out, *I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord*, Rom. 7. 24, 25. And then in the next Chapter, having said, *There is no Condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit*, he says expressly concerning himself. *For the Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the Law of Sin and Death*, ver. 2. And again, *Thanks be to God, which giveth us the Victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1 Cor. 15. 57. This *Victory* we press after; this *Freedom from the Law of Sin and Death*, we labour and travel to attain unto, by a Subjection (through Divine Assistance) to the *Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus*.

The 6th Objection is, *Why your Teachers perswade you, that all other People are in a barren and desolate Condition, and are out of Christ.*

*Answer.* Our Teachers do not perswade us so; nor do we Judge so of all other People: For we our selves were gathered out of various Professions, States and Conditions; and some of us, who had been seeking after the Lord in other Professions, can remember, that before we were thus gathered to this divine Principle of *Light*, which the Lord hath set up, in this his Day, as an Ensign for the Nations to be gathered unto, and to walk in: we were not wholly barren and desolate; but had, at Seasons, some touches and tastes of the Vertue of that hidden Life, which we were then Strangers to; the Lord having regard to the Sincerity of our Hearts, and answering, in some measure, the Breathings of our Souls to him; so far, at least, as to cherish and keep alive those good Desires which were begotten in us, and to beget in us a greater Hunger and Thirst after him. And it is not hard to us to believe, that  
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so it may be with others at this Day, who have an Integrity to the Lord, though not acquainted with his Outgoings, and Manifestations of himself in this Dispensation of *Light and Life*: And both our Prayers to God the Father, in and through his Son Jesus Christ, and our Labour and Endeavours, in the Openings of his Love and Life in our Hearts, are, That all these, in whatsoever Profession, may be drawn off from all the dry Hills and barren Mountains, and gathered into the true Sheepfold. For we remember our Saviour said, *Other Sheep I have, which are not of this Fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice; and there shall be one Fold, and one Shepherd*, Joh. 10. 16. The Lord grant, that none of these may mistake his Voice, or disobey it.

The last Objection is, *You deny all outward Ordinances, as Baptism, and the Six Principles, that were taught to the first primitive Christians.*

*Answer.* The Dispensation of the Law was *outward*, and the Ordinances appertaining to that Dispensation were *outward* also: But the Dispensation of the Gospel is spiritual and *inward*, and the Ordinances appertaining to this Dispensation are of a spiritual Nature. The *Baptism with Water* was *John's*, and came up under the Dispensation of the Law, nor did properly belong to the Gospel Dispensation, though for a time, by Condescension, continued; as Circumcision, and some other Legal Rites, were. And this was that Baptism which *Paul* says Christ sent him not to baptize with, 1 Cor. 1. 17. But the *Baptism of Christ*, the true Gospel-Baptism, that by which the true Believer is baptized into Jesus Christ, Rom. 6. 3. and buried with him into Death, ver. 4. *The one Baptism*, Eph. 4. 5. is the *Baptism with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*, and is plainly distinguished from the Baptism with Water, both by *John*, to whom the Water-Baptism belonged

Belonged, and by Christ, to whom the Spirit-Baptism belonged. For John said, *I indeed baptize you with water unto Repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose Shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*, Mat. 3. 11. And Christ, as Luke records a little before his Ascension, said, *John truly baptized with Water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many Days hence*, Acts 1. 5. which was the Promise of the Father, ver. 4. delivered by Christ to his Apostles and Disciples, just before his parting from them, Luke 24. 49. Let it therefore be fairly considered, 1. That the Dispensation of the Gospel is *Spiritual*, and therefore the Ordinances belonging to it should be so too. 2. That in Mat. 28. 19. (From which place the Commission for Water-Baptism is usually fetched) there is no Mention of Water. 3. That Baptism with Water is no where in Scripture called Christ's Baptism. 4. That Baptism with Water is frequently called *John's Baptism*. 5. That the Baptism with the Holy Ghost is called *Christ's Baptism*. 6. That the Apostle Paul acknowledges but *One Baptism*, Eph. 4. 5. which cannot be supposed to be that with *Water*, since then he must exclude the Baptism of the *Spirit*. 7. That the Apostle Peter, speaking of the Baptism that saves, says expressly, *It is not the putting away the Filth of the Flesh*, 1 Pet. 3. 21. (which it is the Property of Water to do) as if he had said, *The Baptism which now saves us is not Water-Baptism*. 8. That Baptism with Water is no where expressly commanded in Scripture, as it would doubtless have been, had it been intended by Christ for a Gospel Ordinance. 9. That tho' it was sometimes used after Christ's Ascension, yet that cannot authorize the use of it now, any more than of Circumcision, and other Legal Ordinances, which, in Condescension to the Weakness of Believers in that Day, were also used after

after Christ's Ascension, yet are confest by all not to be in force now. For *John*, as himself said, was to *decrease*, Joh. 3. 30. which related to his Ministry or Dispensation, not to his Person. Now a ~~Decreasing~~ implies a growing less, or wearing away by degrees, not all on a suddain; or at once; and therefore no wonder, if his Water-Baptism was continued for a time, even after Christ's Baptism of the Holy Spirit took place. But as Christ's Baptism was to *increase*, so *John's* was to *decrease*, till Christ's came to be *all in all*, and *John's* Water-Baptism wholly to give place. Let these things, we say, be duly weighed, and we hope we shall not be blamed, for leaving the Baptism of *John*, and cleaving to the Baptism of *Christ*.

As for the *Six Principles* thou mentionest, seeing thou hast not declared what they are, it cannot be expected we should speak to them at this time. But we recommend to thee that holy divine Principle of **Light** wherewith Christ *lighteth every Man that cometh into the World*, Joh. 1. 9. *In which Light the Nations of them that are saved shall walk*, Rev. 21. 24. And we heartily desire thou mayst walk therein.

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A C C O U N T  
O F  
**TYTHES**  
In G E N E R A L.

**T**H E only Command from God, that we read of in Holy Scripture, for the Payment of Tythes, was given by *Moses*, to the People of *Israel*, in the time of the *Levitical Law*. Then God first reserved to himself the Tythe of the Land of *Canaan*, *Lev.* 27. 30. Which he did for this reason, that, intending to take the Tribe of *Levi* more peculiarly into his Service (as he did, *Numb.* 3. 6. in stead of, or in exchange for all the First born of *Israel*, ver. 12. 13. and 45. and Chap. 8. ver. 18. Having before reserved and appropriated the First born to himself, *Ex.* 13.2.) he might bestow those Tythes on the *Levites*, for and towards the Maintenance of that whole Tribe, as a Reward for their Service in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, *Numb.* 18. 21, 31. and in lieu of, and Compensation for, their Part or Share of and in the Land of *Canaan*, which thereupon they were expressly cut off from, ver. 20, 23, 24.

2. Now although it was grounded on a Principle of Moral Justice and Equity, that the *Levites*, thus engaged in a continual Attendance on a publick Service, and shut out from their Share in the Inheritance of the promised Land, should receive a sufficient

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Maintenance from them for whom they performed that Service, and who enjoyed their Part of the Land: Yet the ascertaining of the *Quota* of that Maintenance to the exact Proportion of a *Tenth Part* of the Increase of the Land, was not grounded on moral Justice, but had its Dependence on the Ceremonial Law, adapted and limited to the Polity of that Dispensation and People only. And that it might not be extended beyond its appointed Time and Bounds, it pleased the Divine Wisdom, to subject it to such Ceremonial Circumstances, as plainly rank it amongst those carnal Ordinances (Rites or Ceremonies) which were imposed but *till the Time of Reformation*, spoken of *Heb. 9. 10.* For as God appointed the *Levites* to be offered for a *Wave-Offering*, by *Moses*, in the Name and on the Behalf of the Children of *Israel*, when he said to *Moses*, *Thou shalt bring the Levites to the Tabernacle of the Congregation, and thou shalt gather the whole Assembly of the Children of Israel together; And thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord, and the Children of Israel shall put their Hands upon the Levites: And Aaron shall offer (in the Margin Wave) the Levites before the Lord, for an Offering (in the Margin Wave-Offering) of the Children of Israel; that they may execute the Service of the Lord*, Numb. 8, 9, 10, 11. So the Tythes, which were assigned for the Maintenance of the *Levites*, were to be first offered, by the People, as an *Heave-Offering* unto the Lord. (*The Tythes of the Children of Israel, which they offer as an Heave-Offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites, &c. Numb. 18. 24.*) And even the Tythe of those Tythes, which the *Levites* were to yield unto the *Priests*, were to be offered, by the *Levites*, as an *Heave-Offering* to the Lord, before the *Priests* might have them. *Thus speak unto the Levites (said God to Moses) and say unto them, When ye take of the Children of Israel the Tythe which I have given you from them for your Inheritance; Then ye shall offer up an Heave-Offering of it for the Lord, even a tenth*

*a Tenth Part of the Tythe. And this your Heave-Offering shall be reckoned unto you, as though it were the Corn of the threshing Floor, &c. Thus ye also shall offer an Heave-Offering unto the Lord, of all your Tythes, which ye receive of the Children of Israel: And ye shall give there of the Lord's Heave-Offering to Aaron the Priest,* ver. 26, 27, 28. This makes it evident, beyond doubting, that the Tythes, which were given by the People to the *Levites*, and by the *Levites* to the *Priests*, under the Law, had their Dependence on the Ceremonial Law, as that Priesthood had; And were to stand no longer than that Law and that Priesthood stood: Which was but till *Shiloh* came, and by the Offering of himself once for all, had put an end to all the shadowy Offerings under that Law.

3. This the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* did so well understand, that he positively declared that *the Levitical Priesthood being changed, there was made of Necessity a Change also of the Law*, (of that Law, by which that Priesthood and the Maintenance of it had stood) See *Heb.* 7. 12. And 'tis also evident from Scripture and Primitive Antiquity, that neither the Apostles themselves, nor (for some ages after them) any of the Christians, did meddle with, or at all concern themselves about Tythes; But let them totally fall as they did the other abrogated Part, *viz.* Offerings, &c. and of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*.

4. But after that the Mystery of Iniquity, which in the Apostles time began to work (2 *Thes.* 2. 7.) had wrought to that Degree amongst some Christians, and had drawn them so far from the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel, as to form and model the Church in many things, by and according to the *Jewish* Pattern amongst other Ceremonial Parts of the *Jewish* Religion, which had been abolished by the Coming and Death of Christ, Tythes were preached up again (about the latter end of the fourth Century, and beginning of the fifth) by some, at first, under the No-

tion of Alms and Charity (because part of the Tythes under the Levitical Law, were appointed for the Maintenance of the Fatherless, the Widow and the Stranger, *Deut.* 14. 28, 29.) And by others, as then still due by the Mosaic Law, which had required them to be paid to the Levitical Priesthood. Which Plea afterwards (Corruptions increasing in the Church, and in those especially who were called the *Church-Men*, or *Clergy*) more and more prevailing, the Payment of Tythes was re-introduced, as due by those Levitical Laws, which had been given to the *Israelites* of old. And upon that Bottom, Tythes have stood, been claimed and the Claim defended unto this Day,

5. Now, not only he that thus claims, and receives Tythes, but he that consents to, and complies with such Claim, by paying Tythes thus brought in, and thus claimed, doth thereby implicitly, and virtually (at least) deny that Christ has put an End to the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, and consequently that he is come, and hath suffered in his Flesh for Mankind. And that this may appear as plain as is possible, I shall draw the Matter into an Argument, thus :

To uphold any Thing, as still in force, which was to be taken away, and cease at and by the Death of Christ, is to deny that Christ is come and hath suffered in his Flesh for Mankind.

But to receive, or pay Tythes now, is to uphold a Thing, as still in force, which was to be taken away, and cease at and by the Death of Christ :

Therefore to receive, or pay Tythes now, is to deny that Christ is come, and hath suffered in his Flesh for Mankind.

The *Major* must be granted, and the *Minor* I thus prove.

Whatsoever was a *part* of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, was to be taken away and cease at and by the Death of Christ,

But



But Tythes were a part of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*;

Therefore Tythes were to be taken away, and cease at and by the Death of Christ :

The *Major* here again is unexceptionable; And the *Minor* is thus proved.

Every *Heave-Offering* among the *Jews* was a *Part* of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*;

But Tythes were an *Heave-Offering* among the *Jews*, Num. 18. 24.

Therefore Tythes were a *Part* of the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*.

6. By this it appears, that without regard had of the Person to whom, or the Use for which Tythes are paid, the paying of Tythes (as well as the receiving them) being a *Part* of the abrogated Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, imports a denial of the Coming, and Death of *Christ*. Hence it is, that Tythes have been, and are commonly called *Antichristian*, or *against Christ*. And hence hath risen that saying (often used not only by our antient Friends, but by some of the Martyrs long before) *viz. He that pays Tythes, doth thereby deny that Christ is come in the Flesh*. That Conclusion could not have been drawn, from the paying of Tythes to a wrong Ministry, or for a wrong use only, though such Payment be evil: Nor could any thing justify that Inference, but the Consideration that Tythes, depending on the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, which must of Necessity and in course fall, and cease when Christ suffered; the paying of Tythes carries in it a supposal, that that Law is not yet ceased, but is still in force: and consequently that Christ, whose Death must needs have ended it, is not yet come, nor has yet suffered in his Flesh for Mankind.

7. That other Objection, not less weighty than common against paying Tythes to the *Clergy*, so called, *viz. The unlawfulness of upholding a false Ministry*, to perform a false Worship (being it self so

clear and plain, that it needs no illustration) I shall, in this Discourse, no further meddle with, than to observe in my way, how far it may affect those Tythes also, which the *Impropriators* claim. Wherefore having premised what is said before concerning Tythes in general, to what Hand, or for what Use soever paid, let us now inquire into those Tythes, which are called *Improprie*.

## Of *Improprie* TYTHES.

1. **T**HAT these Tythes, which are claimed by the *Impropriators*, are of the same Nature, and stand originally on the same Root and Ground, on which the other Tythes stand, which are claimed and exacted by the *Priests*, is evident from hence, that they were all heretofore, these as well as those, claimed by, and paid to some or other of the *Romish Clergy*, or their Appendices, the Religious Orders (so called) and upon the same Foot. That is, These *Improprie Tythes* were paid to those Religious Orders or Houses, as being due to God, by vertue of the *Levitic Law*; as well as the other Tythes were paid to the *Parish-Priests*, on the same supposed Right, from the same Law. But how these Tythes came to those Religious Houses first, and how afterwards from them to the *Impropriators*, is next to be inquired.

2. Until the *Lateran Council* (so named, because it was holden in the *Pope's* Palace at *Rome*, called the *Lateran*) in the Year 1215. It was in the choice of every Man to give his Tythes to what Church he pleased, so he gave them to some Church. And even after that Council, the *Popes*, as Heads of that Church, by their dispensing Power, did give leave to such as would sue, and pay for it, to give their Tythes from the *Parish-Priest*, to such Order of Religious People (whether *Monks*, *Friers*, or *Nuns*) as they were best affected to. By which means, the *Parish-Priests* (called *Seculars*,) and

and those of the several Religious Orders (called by a general Title, *Regulars*) being left to scramble, as they could, for maintenance, the *Regulars* (*mendicant Fryers*, and others) swarming in all Places, and pretending, at least, to greater Sanctity, and Austerity of Life, than the *Parish-Priests*, prevailed with the People, either living or dying, to give not only very considerable Estates in Lands, but also the Tythes of other Lands, and of whole Parishes, from the *Parish-Priests*, to their Religious Houses or Convents.

3. The Tythes, or Parsonages, so given, were then called *Appropriations*, because they were appropriated to this, that, or the other Religious House or Convent. And I have read, that there were in *England* about 3845 Parsonages thus appropriated. And as Tythes werethen held to be *due to God and holy Church*; and those Religious Orders were reputed a part of that Church: So the Tythes, as well as the Lands thus given them, were continued to them, and possessed by them, till that general Storm arose, in K. *Henry* 8. his time, which overturned those Religious Houses and Orders together. And here, by the way, it may be noted, That while those Religious Houses stood, a great part of the Lands which had been given to them, were, by Papal Authority, exempted from paying Tythes: Whence it is, that many of those Estates, which had belonged to those Religious Houses, remain discharged from the Burden of Tythes still.

4. As Tythes were set up here on the Authority of the *Levitic Law*, and in imitation of the *Jewish Practice*, consonant to that Law: So while those Religious Houses stood, and the *Pope's* Power prevailed here, not only the *Seculars* or *Parish-Priests*, but all those *Regulars* who received Tythes, were bound to pay the *Tenths* out of the Tythes they received to the Head of their Church, the *Pope* as the *Levites*, under the Ceremonial Law, were required to do to the Priests.

5. But after that K. *Hen.* 8. (upon a Quarrel be-

tween the *Pope* and him, about his Divorce from his first Queen *Catharine*, which he earnestly desired, and the *Pope* would not grant ) fell off from the *Pope* (though not from *Popery* : For after that, he retained the most pernicious Doctrines of the *Romish Church*, contained in the six Articles, and burnt some for denying them) he threw off the *Pope's* Supremacy here, and assumed it to himself, declaring himself, and being declared, first by the *Clergy* in their *Convocation*, and soon after by *Lords* and *Commons* in *Parliament*, *The only Supream Head in Earth of the Church of England*. This was done by the Statute of 26 Hen. 8. c. 1. And therein it is enacted. ' That the King, ' his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall ' be taken, accepted and reputed the only Supream ' Head in Earth of the Church of *England*. And shall ' have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial ' Crown of this Realm, as well the Title and Stile ' thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Præeminences, Jurisdictions, Privileges, Authorities, Immunities, Profits and Commodities to the said Dignity of Supream Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining. And shall have full Power and Authority, from time to time, to Visit, Repress, Redress, Reform, Order, Correct, Restrain and Amend all such Errors, Heresies, Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatsoever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority and Jurisdiction ought, or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, &c. By which it is evident, the Intention of the *Parliament* then was to transfer, confer and settle unto and upon King *Henry* all the Powers, Profits and Privileges, which had been before supposed to be in, or belong to, or had been enjoyed or exercised by the *Pope*, while he was received as *Supream Head of the Church*.

6. And therefore, as the *Pope*, while he retained the

*Supremacy* here, had the first Fruits (which are the Profits of every Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Living for one Year, upon the advancing of any Ecclesiastical Person, to such a Living; and also the *Tenths*, that is the *tenth Part* of all the Tythes : So these two Revenues, as appendant to that *Supremacy*, followed it; being settled on the King, in the same Session of Parliament, wherein the *Supremacy* was vested in him. The Words of the Statute, 26 *H.* 8. c. 3. relating to the *first Fruits*, are these. ‘ That for the more surety of Continuance and Augmentation of his Highness Royal Estate, being not only now recognized (as he always indeed hath heretofore been) the only Supreme Head in Earth, next and immediatly under God, of the Church of *England*, but also their most assured and undoubted natural Sovereign Liege Lord and King, &c. It may therefore be enacted and ordained by, &c. That the King’s Highness, his Heirs and Successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have and enjoy from time to time to endure for ever, of every such Person and Persons, which at any time after the first Day of *January* next shall be nominated, elected, perfected, presented, collated or by any other means appointed to have any Arch-Bishoprick, Abbacy, Monastery, Priory, Colledge, Hospital, Archdeaconry, Deanry, Provostship, Prebend, Parsonage, Vicarage, Chauntry, Free-Chapel, or other Dignity, Benefice, Office, or Promotion Spiritual, within this Realm, or elsewhere within any of the King’s Dominions, of what Name, Nature, or Quality soever they be, or to whose Foundation, Patronage, or Gift soever they belong, the First-Fruits, Revenues and Profits for one Year of every such Arch-Bishoprick, Bishoprick, Abby, Monastery, Priory, — Parsonage, Vicarage, &c. Then (after Provisions made for finding out the value of those Spiritual Livings, and for paying, receiving and recovering those *First-Fruits*)  
the

the Settlement of the *Tenths* (that other part of the *Pope's* Revenue) upon the King, follows, in the same Statute, in these Words.

‘ And over this, be it enacted by Authority a-  
 ‘ foreſaid, that the Kings Maſteſty, his Heirs and  
 ‘ Succeſſors, Kings of this Realm, for more Augmenta-  
 ‘ tion and Maintenance of the Royal Eſtate of his  
 ‘ Imperial Crown and Dignity of Supream Head  
 ‘ of the Church of *England*, ſhall yearly have, take,  
 ‘ enjoy and receive, united and knit to his Impe-  
 ‘ rial Crown for ever, one yearly Rent, or Penſion,  
 ‘ amounting to the value of the Tenth Part of all  
 ‘ the Revenues, Rents, Farms, Tythes, Offerings,  
 ‘ Emoluments, and of all other Profits as well called  
 ‘ Spiritual as Temporal, now appertaining or be-  
 ‘ longing, or that hereafter ſhall belong to any  
 ‘ Archbiſhoprick, Biſhoprick, Abbacy, Monastery,  
 ‘ Priory, Archdeaconry, Deanry, Hoſpital, Col-  
 ‘ ledge, Houſe-Collegiate, Prebend, Cathedral Church,  
 ‘ Collegiate-Church, Conventual-Church, Parſonage,  
 ‘ Vicarage, Chauntry, Free-Chappel, or other Be-  
 ‘ nefice or Promotion Spiritual, of what Name,  
 ‘ Nature, or Quality ſoever they be, within any  
 ‘ Dioceſs of this Realm, or in Wales, &c. And ſo  
 goes on to direct the time, place and manner of  
 Payment of theſe Tenths, with the Penalty for  
 non-payment.

7. Thus were theſe two great Pillars of *Papal Su-  
 premacy* ( *Fiſt Fruits* and *Tenths* ) transferr’d from  
 the *Pope*, (the old Head,) to the King, (the new  
 Head of the Church,) to ſupport and maintain that  
 Headſhip in him, as they had done before in the  
*Pope*. Which Eccleſiaſtical Headſhip the King was  
 no ſooner poſſeſſed of, than he began to exerciſe it a-  
 mongſt thoſe Religious Orders, Suppreſſing (as *Her-  
 bert*, in his Life, p. 379. relates) the *Obſervant  
 Fryers* at *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Richmond* and o-  
 ther Places, and ſubſtituting the *Auguſtines* in their  
 places

Places. ' Which he did (says *Herbert* there) for the ' finding out how his People would take his Design of ' putting down Religious Houses: To which he proceeded the next Year, beginning with the lesser Sors, and suppressing all those Monasteries, Priories and other Religious Houses of *Monks, Canons, and Nuns*, which had not in Lands, Tenements, Rents, Tythes, Portions, and other Hereditaments, above the clear yearly Value of two hundred Pounds. By which means 376 of those Religious Houses being dissolved, a Revenue of above thirty thousand Pounds a Year, beside an hundred thousand Pounds in Money raised by sale, at low Rates, of the Goods and Chattels, of those Houses (a Sum not small in that Age) came to the King, for support of his Ecclesiastical

- Supremacy.

8. The Statute, which countenanced this Proceeding, is the 27. of *Hen. 8.* cap. 28. And a new Court, called *the Court of Augmentations*, was then erected and settled by Parliament, for receiving and ordering these new accessional Revenues: the Act for which, in our printed Statute Books, is set before that for the Suppression of those lesser Monasteries. But though that, for Suppressing those Monasteries, be, by an *Hysserofis*, set after that for establishing the *Court of Augmentations*; Yet it must have been made before it: For it is recited in it.

9. In that Statute, 27 *Hen. 8.* 28. for suppressing those smaller Monasteries, mention is made of Monasteries, Abbies, and Piores, which, within one Year before the making of that Statute, had been given and granted to the King by any Abbot, Prior, Abbess or Pioresa, under their Convent-Seal, or that otherwise had been suppressed, or dissolved. All which were, by that Statute confirmed to the King, and to all those, unto whom the King either then before had conveyed, or then after should convey any Part or Parts thereof; ' To hold to them in like Manner,

Form

Form, and Conditions, as the Abbots, Priors, Abbeſſes, Prioreſſes, and other chief Governors of any religious Houſes, which had the ſame, might or ought to have had if they had not been ſuppreſſed. For upon the King's falling (as was noted before) upon the Obſervant *Fryers* at *Greenwich*, and other places, ſome of the more conſiderate of the *Abbots*, *Priors*, &c. Seeing the Storm ariſing, which then threatned, and ſoon after brought Deſtruction on thoſe Orders, thought it better Policy to comply with the times, and ſurrender upon Terms, in hopes to ſave ſomething, than hold out to the laſt (as many did) and loſe all.

10. And indeed, the ſuppreſſing of thoſe 376 leſſer Monafteries, ſtruck ſo great a Fear into the greater, that the Statute made four Years after (31 *Hen.* 8. cap. 13.) whereby the Reſt of the Religious Houſes were given to the King, recites, ' That divers and ſundry Ab-  
' bots, &c. of their own free and voluntary Mind,  
' ſince the fourth of *Feb.* in the 27 of his Reign, had  
' by due Order of Law, and by their ſufficient Writ-  
' ings of Record, under their Convent and common  
' Seals, ſeverally given, granted and confirmed to  
' the King his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, All their  
' ſaid Monafteries, Abbeys, Priories, &c. and all the  
' Mannors, Lord-ſhips, Lands, Tenements, *Tythes*, &c.  
' to them belonging, and had voluntarily renounc-  
' ed, left and forſaken the ſame. And therefore, in  
the ſaid Statute it is enacted, ' That the King ſhall  
' have, hold, &c. All ſuch late Monafteries, &c. and  
' all the Sites, Circuits, Mannors, Lands, Tenements,  
' &c. thereunto belonging. In the enumeration of  
the Particulars whereof, (which are many) *Tythes*,  
Parſonages, appropriate, and Vicarages are expreſſy  
mentioned. All which (as likewiſe all other Religi-  
ous Houſes, with the Revenues thereof, which ſhould  
there after be diſſolved, ſuppreſſed, relinquished, for-  
feited, or given to the King, and which by that Sta-  
tute are ſettled on him) he was to hold and enjoy,  
in



in as large and ample Manner, and Form, as the late Abbots, &c. had held or of right ought to have held, the same, in Right of their said late Monasteries, &c.

11. From hence this Observation arises. That since those Religious Orders did hold the *Tythes* which they possessed, upon the supposed Right of their being due *to God and Holy Church*, which they held themselves, and were by others holden to be a part of; and the King received those *Tythes* and *Parsonages* (amongst the rest of the Revenues of the Religious Houses) as well those that were resigned to him by the Governors of those Houses themselves, as the rest which by Act of Parliament he took, upon the same Right on which those Religious Orders had holden them: He also must hold them upon that supposed Right of their being due *to God and Holy Church*; which he then held himself, and was holden by all, both *Clergy* and *Laitie*, to be the only *Supream Head* of here in *England*. And as upon that supposed Right (of their being due *to God and Holy Church*) on which the Religious Houses held them, they passed them from those Houses to the King; as *supream Head of the Church*: So on the same supposed Right (of their being due *to God and Holy Church*) they passed from the King, as *supream Head of the Church*, to those (whether *Spiritual* or *Lay* Persons) unto whom the King granted them. For they stuck not long in the King's Hand: But he, of his own meer Motion, Liberality and Bignity (as the Statute in the 33d Year of his Reign, cap. 39. relates) had by that time freely given and granted, &c. unto divers and sundry of the Lords and Nobles, as well *Spiritual* as *Temporal*, and unto divers and many other Persons and Bodies politick, &c. divers and many sundry Honours, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and among the rest, *Re-tories*, &c.

12. But great care was taken to retain, and keep up the Character of *Spirituality*, which had formerly been stamped

pon those *Rectories*, *Parsonages*, and other by *Tithes*, into what Hands soever they d. And therefore, by the Statute of 32 *Hen.* in case of with-holding, or denying to pay s, all Persons claiming them (*Impropr* ell as *Priests*) are restrained from suing in *ral Courts*, and limited to the *Ecclesiastical al Courts* only, for the Recovery of them. that they might still have Dependence upon *macy*, care was taken, from the first, by the f 27 *Hen.* 8. cap. 27. That none of these which then had come, or should come, from hose Religious Houses to the King, should n him by Grant to any Person whatsoever, an express Reservation of a *Tenth*. And in uent Statute (33 *Hen.* 8. cap. 29.) complaint ade that, altho' out of those Grants, which 3 had made to sundry Persons, of Honours, Mannors, Lands, Teneiments, Rectories, &c. were under the Survey of the *Court of Aug-* ns) the *Tenths* had been reserved; yet the unto whom such Grants had been made, hey had quietly enjoyed and taken the Issues fits of those Lands, Rectories, &c. had not reserved *Tenths* to the King: Provision was that Statute, by several *Forfeitures* and *No-* na's to enforce the Payment thereof. was Care taken of the *Ecclesiastical Head* (the nly, but of the *Ecclesiastical Members* (the also: Many, if not most, of which had Pen- Portions issuing out of those Parsonages, Re- or other spiritual Benefices (as they were ) which the Religious Orders held: for, be- t upon the increasing of those *Appropriations*, the *Parish Priests* were pinch'd, there had vision made early, in the time of K. *Richard* nd, for the *Vicars*, as well as for the *Poor*; the of 15 *Ric.* 2. 6. directing, That, upon the  
*Appre-*

' *Appropriation* of such Churches, the *Diocesan* of  
 ' the Place (or Bishop of the Diocess) shall ordain,  
 ' according to the Value of such Churches, a conve-  
 ' nient Sum of Money to be paid and distributed  
 ' Yearly, of the Fruits and Profits of the same  
 ' Churches, to the poor Parishioners: and also, that  
 ' the Vicar be well and sufficiently endowed. Which  
 Statute (so far, at least, as concerned the Vicars) was  
 afterwards confirmed by another Statute of 4 *Hen. 4.*  
 cap. 12. which expressly ordains, ' That the Statute  
 ' of Appropriation of Churches, and of the Endow-  
 ' ment of Vicars in the same, made the 15th Year of  
 ' K. Ric. the 2d be firmly holden, and put in due Exe-  
 ' cution: I say, besides these, the Stat. of 34 and 35  
 of *Hen. 8.* cap. 19. takes notice, ' That the Arch-Bi-  
 ' shops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons and other Ecclesia-  
 ' stical Persons, of both Provinces of *Canterbury* and  
 ' *Tork*, having formerly, in right of their Churches  
 ' received out of the late Monasteries, &c. divers  
 ' Pensions, and other Profits, had after the Dissoluti-  
 ' on of those Houses, been disturbed, and denyed of the  
 ' having, receiving and gathering of the said Pen-  
 ' sions, &c. Whereupon it is, in the said Statute,  
 enacted, ' That if any Person or Persons, being Far-  
 ' mer or Occupier of any Mannors, Lands, Tene-  
 ' ments, Parsonages, Benefices or other Hereditaments  
 ' of any of the said late Monasteries, &c. by the King's  
 ' Gift, Grant, Sale, Exchange, or otherwise, out  
 ' of which any such Pensions, &c. have been here-  
 ' tofore lawfully going, answered or Paid to any of  
 ' the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, and o-  
 ' ther Ecclesiastical Persons abovesaid, do, at any  
 ' time after the first Day of *April* next coming, wil-  
 ' fully deny the Payment thereof, Then it shall be  
 ' lawful for the said Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-  
 ' Deacons, or other Ecclesiastical Persons aforesaid,  
 ' being so denied, to be satisfied and paid thereof, &c.  
 ' to proceed in the Ecclesiastical Courts, for the re-  
 ' covery thereof.

By

14. By which Statute, all Pensions payable to Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, or other Ecclesiastical Person, that had been possessed thereof, at or within Ten Years next before the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, out of the Parsonages, Rectories, or Tythes holden by the said Monasteries, &c. are confirmed and assured to such Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, and other Ecclesiastical Persons still.

15. So that, upon the whole, besides what hath been said of Tythes in general, with respect to the *Judaizing*, and denying of Christ, by the paying thereof (which extends alike to all *Tythes*, those claimed by the *Impropriator*, as well as those claimed by the *Priest*) the *Impropriate Tythes* being generally charged, either with some Payment to the *Vicars*, for enlarging of their *Stipends*, or with *Pensions* to the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Arch-Deacons, and other Ecclesiasticks: all such of them as are so charged, come under the same Objection, that is made against paying to the Priest, *viz.* The upholding of a false Ministry, to perform a false Worship. And if any *Impropriation* may be supposed to be free from all those Charges: yet all *Impropriators*, as well as *Priests*, being bound to pay the reserved *Tenths* to the King, as *Supream Head of the Church* (which were wont before to be paid to the *Pope*, while he was owned for *Head of the Church*) the paying of Tythes to an *Impropriator*, is a *Recognizing*, and *acknowledging* of a Man (Bad or Good, *Popish* or *Protestant*, as it happens) to be the only *Supream Head on Earth of the Church*. Which is to set an *Human Head* to a *Spiritual Body*: and to divest and deprive our Lord *Jesus Christ* of his undoubted Right, who the Apostle says expressly, is *the Head of the Body, the Church*, Col. 1. 18. *And that not of Man's making or appointing; but God* (saith the Apostle) *hath given him to be the Head over all things to the Church, which is his Body*, Ephes. 1. 22, 23.

T. H.

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